ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS:

Together with His Private Prayers, uſed in the time of his reſtraint, and delivered to D. Juxon, Biſhop of *London*, immediately before his death.

Rom. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium eſt.

Good things & to suffer ill

Is the effect of a Kingly Skill

MDCXLIX.



...rles by the grace of God Kinge
...nd Scotland France and
... defendor of the faith etc:





The Explanation of the EMBLEME.

Ponderibus *genus omne mali, probrisq; gravatus,*
Vixq; ferenda ferens, Palma *ut* Depressa, *resurgo.*

Ac, velut undarum Fluctûs Ventiq;, *furorem*
Irati Populi Rupes immota *repello.*
Clarior è tenebris, *cœlestis stella, coruſco.*
Victor et æternùm–felici face triumpho.

Auro Fulgentem *rutilo gemmisq; micantem,*
At curis Gravidam *spernendo* calco Coronam.

Spinosam, *at* ferri facilem, *quo* Spes nea, *Christi*
Auxilio, Nobis non est tractare *molestum.*

Æternam, *fixis fidei, sempérq;–*beatam
In Cœlas oculis Specto, *Nobisq; paratam.*

Quod Vanum *est, sperno; quod Christi* Gratia *præbet*
Amplecti studium est: Virtutis Gloria *merces.*

Though clogg'd with weights *of miseries*
Palm-*like* Depress'd, I *higher rise.*

*And as th'*unmoved Rock *out-brave's*
The boistrous Windes *and rageing* Waves:
So triumph I. *And* shine more bright
In sad Affliction's Darksom night.

That Splendid, *but yet* toilsom *Crown*
Regardlesly I trample *down.*

With joie I take this Crown of thorn,
Though sharp, *yet* easie to be born.

That heavinlie Crown, already mine,
I View *with eies of Faith divine.*

I slight vain *things; and do embrace*
Glorie, *the just reward of* Grace.

Τὸ Χῖ δόξει πίκησε τὴν κόλιν. καὶ τὸ Κάτωα.

G.D

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ

THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS:

Together with His Private Prayers, used in the time of his restraint, and delivered to D. Juxon, Bishop of *London*, immediately before his death.

Rom. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Good Things to doe while suffering ill
Is the effect of a Kingly Skill

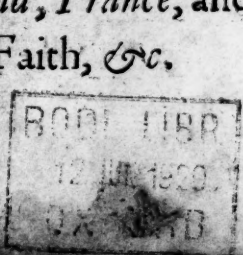
MDCXLIX.

LE treſhaut, trespuiſſant & tresexcellent Prince CHARLES, par la grace de Dieu Roy de la grand' Bretaigne, France, & D' Irlande, Defenſeur de la foy, &c.



EXcellentiſsimus, metuendiſsimus & potentiſsimus Princeps, CAROLUS, Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Fidei Defenſor, &c.

THe moſt high, moſt mighty, and moſt excellent Prince, CHARLES, by the grace of God King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.



THE CONTENTS.

1. Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament. pag. 1.
2. Upon the Earl of Straffords death. 5
3. Upon his Majesties going to the House of Commons. 11
4. Upon the Insolency of the Tumults. 15
5. Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Trienniall Parliaments: And after settling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses. 24
6. Upon his Majesties retirement from VVestminster. 31
7. Upon the Queens departure, and absence out of England. 38
8. Upon His Majesties repulse at Hull, and the fates of the Hothams. 43
9. Upon the Listing, and raising Armies against the King. 49
10. Upon their seizing the Kings Maga-

zines, Forts, Navy, and Militia. 61
11. Upon the 19. Propositions first sent to the King; and more afterwards. 69
12. Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in Ireland. 83
13. Upon the Calling in of the Scots, and their Coming. 93
14. Upon the Covenant. 102
15. Upon the many Iealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the King, to stirre up the People against him. 114
16. Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Book. 129
17. Of the differences between the King and the two Houses, in point of Church-government. 138
18. Upon Vxbridge-Treatie, and other offers made by the King. 156
19 Upon the various events of the Warre; Victories and Defeats. 162
20. Upon the Reformations of the Times. 170
21. Upon His Majesties Letters taken, and di-

divulged. 178
22. *Upon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots. 184
23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the King to the* English; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby. 188
24. *Upon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplains.* 193
25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vows in the KINGS solitude at *Holmeby.* 204
26. *Upon the Armies Surprisall of the* KING *at* Holmeby, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.* 209
27. *To the Prince of* VVales. 216
Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and HIS MAJESTIES *closer imprisonment in* Caris-brook. 235
A Prayer in time of Captivity. 253
Another Prayer. 254
A Prayer and Confession. 256
A Prayer in time of imminent danger. 257

A

A Copy of a Letter from the Prince. 259
His Majesties *Speech to the Lady* Elizabeth. 260
The Lady Elizabeths *relation.* 261
An Epitaph. 263

The Explanation of the Frontiſpiece.

A Sacred heat inſpires my Soul to trie
If *Pray'rs can give Me what the Warres denie,*
Three Crowns diſtinctly here in order do
Preſent their objects to my knowing view,
Earths Crown lies humbled at my foot, diſdain,
'Twas bright, but heavie, and withall but vain,
And now by Grace a Crown of Thorns I greet,
Sharp was this Crown, but not ſo ſharp as ſweet:
This was Chriſts crown, my book upon my bord
Explains my heart, *My hope is in thy Word.*
My Starrie Crown of Glorie, laſt I ſee,
As full of Bliſſe, as of Eternitie.
Now look behind, and midſt moſt troubled skies
Behold, how *clearer I from darkneſſe riſe,*
And ſtand *unmov'd triumphant,* like a Rock,
'Gainſt all the waves, & winds tempeſtuous ſhock
So like the *Palm,* which heavieſt weights do trie,
Vertue oppreſt, doth grow more ſtraight and high.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

1. *Upon His Majeſties calling this laſt Parliament.*

THis laſt Parliament I called, not more by others adviſe, and neceſsity of My affairs, then by My own choice and inclination; who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliaments moſt ſafe for My Crown, and beſt pleaſing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of thoſe ſparks, which ſome mens diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for ſome years, I hoped to have extinguiſhed) yet reſolving with My ſelf to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſſe all publick grievances in Church and State; I hoped (by My freedome and their moderation) to prevent all miſunderſtandings, and miſcarriages in this: In which as I feared affairs would meet with ſome paſsion and prejudice in other men, ſo I reſolved they ſhould find leaſt of them in My ſelf; not doubting, but by the

 weight

weight of reaſon I ſhould counterpoize the overbalancings of any factions.

I was indeed ſorry to hear, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and diſcretion of other Gentlemen, would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding ſome mens wel-meaning zeal by ſuch rules of moderation, as are beſt both to preſerve and reſtore the health of all States and Kingdoms) no man was better pleaſed with the convening of this Parliament, then My ſelf; who knowing beſt the largeneſſe of mine own Heart toward My peoples good and juſt contentment, pleaſed My ſelf moſt in that good and firm underſtanding, which would hence grow between Me and My people.

All jealouſies being laid aſide, My own and My Childrens intereſts gave Me many obligations to ſeek and preſerve the love and welfare of My Subjects. The onely temporall bleſsing that is leſt to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as their greateſt honour and ſafety, next Gods protection; I cared not to leſſen My ſelf in ſome things of My wonted Prerogative, ſince I knew I could be no loſer, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but Mine enemies alſo: exceeding even the deſires of thoſe that were factiouſly diſcontented, if they did but pretend to any modeſt and ſober ſenſe. The

The *odium* and offences which ſome mens rigour or remiſsnes in Church, and State, had contracted upon My Government, I reſolved to have expiated by ſuch Laws and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiſſe in practiſe, but ſupply what was defective in the conſtitution: No man having a greater zeal to ſee Religion ſettled, & preſerved in Truth, Unity, and Order, then My ſelf, whom it moſt concerns both in piety, and policy; as knowing, that, No flames of civil diſſentions are more dangerous, then thoſe which make Religious pretenſions the grounds of Factions.

I reſolved to reform what I ſhould by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiſſe; and to grant whatever my Reaſon and Conſcience told Me was fit to be deſired; I wiſh I had kept My ſelf within theſe bounds, and not ſuffered My own Judgement to have been overborn in ſome things, more by others importunities, then their arguments; My confidence had leſſe betrayed My ſelf and My Kingdomes, to thoſe advantages which ſome men ſought for, who wanted nothing but power and occaſion to do miſchief.

But our ſinnes being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Juſtice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robb'd him of in our Proſperity.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming, do not always satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sinnes have overlaid our hopes; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy judgements, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sinnes, Thou givest us cause to repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not repent of My calling this last Parliament; because, O Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to Thy glory, and My peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon Me and My Kingdoms, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts, yet grant Me and My people the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements, that thy rod as well as thy staff may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: When thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasi-

occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought Me and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the ſinnes we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our ſufferings, then our Peace could be with our ſinnes.

O thou Sovereigne Goodneſſe and Wiſdome, who over-ruleſt all our Counſels, over-rule alſo all our hearts; That the worſe things we ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our ſinnes have turned our Antidotes into Poyſon, ſo let thy Grace turn our Poyſons into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy War, ſo let this War prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in My heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a ſinner) for my Saviours ſake, Amen.

2. *Upon the Earl of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then aſhamed to employ him, in the greateſt affairs of State.

For thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract

good ſtore, while moving in ſo high a ſphear, and with ſo vigorous a luſtre, he muſt needs (as the Sun) raiſe many envious exhalations, which condenſed by a popular *odium*, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt merit and integrity.

Though I cannot in my judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the neceſsities of times, and the temper of that people, more then led by his own diſpoſition to any heighth and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any ſuch criminouſneſſe in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of Juſtice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, then in the buſineſſe of that unfortunate Earl: when between my own unſatisfiedneſſe in Conſcience, and a neceſsity (as ſome told me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome people; I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I think wiſhed me well, to chooſe rather what was ſafe, then what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of my Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſſe of Conſcience before God.

And indeed I am ſo farre from excuſing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in my Judgement I thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch

of

of Conſcience with greater regret: which as a ſigne of my repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinfull frailty, that it diſcovered more a fear of Man, then of God; whoſe name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conſcience, thereby to ſalve State ſores; to calm the ſtorms of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans own boſome.

Nor hath Gods Juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man periſh, (though unjuſtly) then the people be diſpleaſed, or deſtroyed.* For, In all likelyhood, I could never have ſuffered, with my People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* innocency, at leaſt by denying to ſigne that deſtructive Bill, according to that Juſtice, which My Conſcience ſuggeſted to Me, then I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankfull importunities with ſo cruell a favour. And I have obſerved, that thoſe, who counſelled Me to ſigne that Bill, have been ſo farre from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the people, that no men have been haraſſed and cruſhed more then they: H:

onely hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled me not to conſent againſt the vote of My own Conſcience; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the ſinfull raſhneſſe of that buſineſſe.

To which being in My ſoul ſo fully conſcious, thoſe Judgements God hath pleaſed to ſend upon Me, are ſo much the more wel-come, as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the beſt rule of policy is to preferre the doing of Juſtice, before all enjoyments; and the peace of my Conſcience before the preſervation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gain a like conſent from Me to Acts, wherein my Conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed Me, in My Lord of *Straffords* buſines.

Not that I reſolved to have employed him in my affairs againſt the adviſe of my Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his death, of whoſe guiltleſneſſe I was better aſſured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo clear, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing ſatisfaction to the Major part of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords, of whom

ſcarce

ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: And for the Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh My Lord of *Straffords* greatneſſe and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemn him to die: who for their integrity in their Votes, were by Poſting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred and fury, which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for juſtice*, (that is, to have both My ſelf and the two Houſes Vote, and do as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurre with the condemning party, then ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to do.

And that after Act, vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently tells the world, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loth ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſſe and regret I find in my ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in ſhedding one mans bloud unjuſtly, (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice, and pretences of avoyding publick miſchiefs) which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God and Man, to all Poſterity, that I am farre from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that bloud which hath been ſhed in this

this unhappy Warre; which ſome men will needs charge on *Me*, to eaſe their own ſouls; who am, and ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, then to loſe my own.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of ſinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me then any man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of envy, or malice againſt him, and by my place ſhould, at leaſt ſo farre, have been a preſerver of him, as to have denied my conſent to his deſtruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my tranſgreſsion, and my ſinne is ever before me.

Deliver me from bloud-guiltineſſe, O God, thou God of my ſalvation, and my tongue ſhall ſing of thy righteouſneſſe.

Againſt thee have I ſinned, and done this evil in thy ſight; for thou ſaweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet caſt me not away from thy preſence, purge me with the bloud of my Redeemer, and I ſhall be clean; waſh me with that precious effuſion, & I ſhall be whiter then ſnow.

Teach me to learn Righteouſneſſe by thy Judgements, and to ſee my frailty in thy juſtice: while I was perſwaded by ſhedding one mans bloud to prevent after-troubles, thou haſt for that, among other ſins, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdoms, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to preferre juſtice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the diſcoveries of mans injurious will.

It

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to pleaſe them by diſpleaſing thee: O never ſuffer me for any reaſon of State, to go againſt my Reaſon of Conſcience, which is highly to ſinne againſt thee, the God of Reaſon, and Iudge of our Conſciences.

What ever O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive me of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit, which ſubjects my will to none, but thy light of Reaſon, Iuſtice, and Religion, which ſhines in my Soul: for Thou deſireſt Truth in the inward parts, and integrity in the outward expreſsions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours Bloud, which ſpeaks better things. O make me, and my People, to hear the voice of Ioy and Gladneſſe, that the bones which thou haſt broken, may rejoyce in thy ſalvation.

3. *Upon his Majeſties going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the five Members, was an act, which My enemies loded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and fears; yea, and many of My friends reſented it as a motion riſing rather from Paſsion then Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the touchineſſe of thoſe times required.

But

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My ſelf ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence, as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave onely a free and legal Triall, which was all I deſired.

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure, or revenge againſt thoſe mens perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawfull correſpondencies they had uſed, & engagements they had made, to embroil My Kingdoms: of all which I miſſed but little to have produced writings under ſome mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo, yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publick peace; which to preſerve by calling in queſtion half a dozen men, in a fair and legall way (which God knows was all my deſigne) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, then either to do Me, and My Kingdome right, in caſe they had been found guilty; or elſe to have cleared their Innocency, and removed My ſuſpicions; which as they were not raiſed out of any malice, ſo neither were they in reaſon to be ſmothered.

What flames of diſcontent this ſpark (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſsible means to quench

quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witnes: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knows, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended Me could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were my followers at that time ſhort of My ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at my coming, then I was unaſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon Me, if I had none with Me to preſerve a reverence to me: For many people had (at that time) learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince aboundantly vented againſt Me, both by words and deeds.

The ſumme of that buſineſſe was this:

Thoſe men and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectours of their Laws and Liberties, then my Self, and ſo worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Conſciences, who if guilty of evil machinations, no preſent impuni-

ty,

ty, or popular vindications of them will be ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, we muſt religiouſly appeal, as being an argument to us Chriſtians of that after unavoidable judgement, which ſhall re-judge what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavored to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future commotions, which I foreſaw, would in all likelihood follow ſome mens activity (if not reſtrained) and ſo now hath done, to the undoing of many thouſands; the more is the pity.

But to over-aw the freedome of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Authority by any violent impreſsions upon them, was not at all my deſigne: I thought I had ſo much Juſtice and Reaſon on my ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough aſſiſtance; and I was reſolved rather to bear the repulſe with patience, then to uſe ſuch hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witneſſe in heaven, and in my Heart: If I have purpoſed any violence or oppreſsion againſt the Innocent: or if there were any ſuch wickednes in my thoughts:

Then let the enemy perſecute my ſoul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the duſt.

Thou

Thou that ſeeſt not as man ſeeth, but lookeſt beyond all popular appearances, ſearching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkneſſe, ſhew thy ſelf.

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wiſe and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my ſinne, in that matter: more then their impunity among good men is any ſure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amiſſe, though they are not puniſhed for it in this world.

Save thy ſervant from the privy conſpiracies, and open violence of bloudy and unreaſonable men, according to the uprightneſſe of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cauſe, and maintain my right, O thou that ſitteſt in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy ſervant may ever rejoyce in thy ſalvation.

4. *Upon the Inſolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our ſinnes) more ominouſly preſaging all theſe miſchiefs, which have followed, then thoſe Tumults in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, ſoon after the convening of this Parliament; which were not like a ſtorm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earth-quake, ſhaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

As

As it is one of the moſt convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power ſets bounds to the raging of the Sea; ſo 'tis no leſſe, that he reſtrains the madneſſe of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods diſpleaſure againſt a Nation, then when he ſuffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar, to paſſe all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which thoſe Tumults did to ſo high degrees of Inſolence, that they ſpared not to invade the Honour and Freedome of the two Houſes, menacing, reproching, ſhaking, yea, and aſſaulting ſome Members of both Houſes, as they fancied, or diſliked them: Nor did they forbear moſt rude and unſeemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to my Self and my Court.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, as an ague, but a quotidian feaver, alwaies encreaſing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſsion.

Firſt, they muſt be a guard againſt thoſe fears, which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared and leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, and laſt to command and overaw the Parliament.

All

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedome of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candour) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacie of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences muſt be ſubdued; by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmaticall propoſalls againſt Government Eccleſiaſticall or Civil, muſt be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had moſt mind to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church & State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults; whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts in the order, gravitie, and deliberateneſſe befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous crueltie, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Incouragers moſt fancied.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow, to ſee them ſo tolerated and connived at by ſome; countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired, for the publick good, then obtain it by ſuch unlawfull and irreligious

But mens paſsions and Gods directions ſeldome agree; violent deſignes and motions muſt have ſutable engines: ſuch as too much attend their own ends, ſeldome confine themſelves to Gods means. Force muſt crowd in what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage, when ſtrong winds blow upon it; ſo neither for Multitudes to become inſolent, when they have men of ſome reputation for parts and pietie to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſſe moſt formidable, was, that many complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by My Self and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſſe could be obtained with any vigour and efficacie, proportionable to the malignitie of that now far-ſpread diſeaſe, and predominant miſchief.

Such was ſome mens ſtupiditie, that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancie, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged and abuſed, while they knew their onely ſecuri-

tie

tie conſiſted in vulgar flatterie: So inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes common ſafetie and Honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained impartially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the known Bouteſeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had and uſed, to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer Statesmen) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive and *devoure*.

I confeſſe, when I found ſuch a deafneſſe, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt fouly inſolenced and aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My Self, could take place, for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults; and ſecuring not onely Our freedome in Parliament, but Our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My Self not bound by My preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſſe and contempts; I hoped by My with-drawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous furie, and others regaining ſome degrees of modeſtie and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimitie in any man, for popular terrours to deſert his publick ſtation. But I think it a hardineſſe beyond true valour, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its furie, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from *Whitehall* onely to redeem My Perſon and Conſcience from violence) God knows I did not then think of a War. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by ſo many former, and ſome after Acts, have ſo much weakned My Self, if I had purpoſed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denied My Self in ſo many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Armie to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for a withdrawing our ſelves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their furie and diſcontent might not flie ſo high, as to worrie and tear thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but plaied with in their paws? God who is My

ſole

ſole Judge, is My Witneſſe in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My Houſe at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reaſonable fair Quarter ; I was reſolved to bear much, and did ſo; but I did not think My Self bound to proſtitute the Maieſtie of My Place and Perſon, the ſafety of My Wife and Children, to thoſe, who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunity moſt capable of their rudeneſſe and petulancy.

But this buſineſſe of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others yet living know themſelves deſperately guiltie) time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up, and buried, that I think it beſt to leave it as it is: Onely I believe the juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe men, and that City, ſee their ſinne in the glaſſe of their puniſhment. 'Tis more then an even lay that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedome of Voting, as in all reaſon, honour, and Religion, they ſhould have been; I doubt not but things would have been ſo carried, as would have given no leſſe content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For, I was reſolved to hear reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo farre as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourſes to publick Councels, turning all into diſorders and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the ſad conſequences in all likelihood, with Gods bleſsing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we muſt leave all to God, who orders our diſorders, and magnifies his wiſdome moſt, when our follies and miſeries are moſt diſcovered.

But thou, O Lord, art My refuge and defence, to thee I may ſafely flie, who ruleſt the raging of the Sea, and the madneſſe of the People.

The flouds, O Lord, the flouds are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelm me.

I look upon my ſins, and the ſins of My people, (which are the tumults of our ſouls againſt Thee, O Lord,) as the juſt cauſe of theſe popular inundations which thou permitteſt to overbear all the banks of loyaltie, modeſtie, laws, Juſtice, and Religion.

But

But thou that gatheredſt the waters into one place, and madeſt the drie land to appear, and after didſt aſſwage the floud which drowned the world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke thoſe boaſts of the people, and deliver Me from the rudeneſſe and ſtrivings of the multitude.

Reſtore, we beſeech thee, unto us, the freedome of our Councels and Parliaments; make us unpaſsionately to ſee the light of Reaſon and Religion, and withall order, and gravitie to follow it, as it becomes Men and Chriſtians; ſo ſhall we praiſe thy Name, who art the God of order and counſel.

What man cannot, or will not repreſſe, thy omnipotent Juſtice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſinne, whom thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing or not ſuppreſsing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and not ſuffering hereafter be their puniſhment.

Set bounds to our paſsion by Reaſon, to our errours by Truth, to our ſedition by Laws duely executed, and to our ſchiſmes by Charity, that we may be, as thy Jeruſalem, *a City at unity in it ſelf.*

This grant, O My God, in thy good time, for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, Amen.

5. *Upon His Majeſties paſsing the Bill for the Trienniall Parliaments: And after ſettling this, during the pleaſure of the two Houſes.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in My purpoſes at firſt, to contribute, what in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience I could, to the Happie ſucceſſe of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other deſigne, but the General good of My Kingdoms:) I willingly paſſed the BILL for Trienniall Parliaments: which, as gentle and ſeaſonable Phyſick, might (if well applied) prevent any diſtempers from getting any head or prevailing; eſpecially, if the remedie proved not a diſeaſe beyond all remedie.

I conceived, this Parliament would find work with convenient receſſes for the firſt three years; But I did not imagine that ſome men would thereby have occaſioned more work then they found to do, by undoing ſo much as they found well done to their hands. Such is ſome mens activitie, that they will needs make work rather then want it, and chooſe to be doing amiſſe, rather then do nothing.

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcantie to ſatisfie ſome mens fears, and compaſſe publick affairs; I was perſwaded to grant that BILL

of

of Sitting during the pleaſure of the Houſes, which amounted in ſome mens ſenſe to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the doore upon all preſent Jealouſies, and future miſtakes: I confeſſe, I did not thereby intend to ſhut My ſelf out of doors, as ſome men have now requited me.

True, it was an Act unparalleld by any of My Predeceſſours; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny my ſelf in ſo high a point of my Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit that my condition ſhould be worſe by my bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſſe to deſire advantages of doing good or evil.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preſerving Laws in their due execution and vigour, wherein My intereſt lies more then any mans, ſince by thoſe Laws, My Rights as a KING, would be preſerved no leſſe then my Subjects; which is all I deſired. More then the Law gives me I would not have, & leſſe the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Some

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented me of that ſettling Act: and many would needs perſwade me, I had cauſe ſo to do; but I could not eaſily nor ſuddenly ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in men of Honours; That the more I granted them, the leſſe I ſhould have, and enjoy with them. I ſtill counted My ſelf undiminiſhed by My largeſt conceſsions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I do not yet deſpair, but that God will ſtill bleſſe Me with increaſe of it; when Men ſhall have more leiſure, and leſſe prejudice; that ſo with unpaſsionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe, (as I think) not more princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happineſſe, who are now onely miſerable in this, That ſome mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the loyall and cleared affections of My people, will ſtrive to return ſuch retributions of Honour, and love to Me, or My poſteritie, as may fully compenſate both the acts of My confidence and My ſuffering for them; which (God knows) have been neither few nor ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much, or diſtruſt too little, to Men,

that

that being profeſſedly My Subjects, pretended ſingular pietie, and religious ſtrictneſſe.

The injurie of all injuries is, That which ſome men will needs load me withall; as if I were a wilfull and reſolved Occaſioner of My own and My Subjects miſeries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falſely divulge) I repining at the eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hoſtilitie to undo what by my Royall aſſent I had done. Sure it had argued a very ſhort ſight of things, and extreme fatuitie of mind in Me, ſo farre to bind My own hands at their requeſt, if I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God knows, though I had then a ſenſe of injuries, yet not ſuch, as to think them worth vindicating by a Warre: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure My ſelf by their not uſing favours, with the ſame candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonneſſe; but I thought at length their own fears, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had juſtly reſented any indignities put upon me, or others, was I then in any capacitie to have taken juſt revenge in an hoſtile and Warlike way upon thoſe, whom I knew ſo

well

well fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of the people, that I could not have given my enemies greater, and more deſired advantages againſt me, then by ſo unprincely inconſtancy, to have aſſaulted them with Arms, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſettled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows, I longed for nothing more then that My ſelf and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My many condeſcendings.

It had been a courſe full of ſinne, as well as of hazard and diſhonour, for me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought) to My Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probabilitie: If ſome men had not feared where no fear was, whoſe ſecuritie conſiſted in ſcaring others.

I thank God, I know ſo well the ſinceritie and uprightneſſe of My own heart, in paſsing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may ſeem leſſe a Politician to men, yet I need no ſecret diſtinctions or evaſions before God. Nor had I any reſervations in My own Soul, when I paſſed it; nor repentings after, till I ſaw that my letting ſome men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to caſt me down headlong.

Concluding,

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it ſelf, together with me, could not but be daſhed in pieces, by ſuch a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercie forgive, and make them ſee at length, That as many kingdomes as the Devil ſhewed our Saviour and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by waies of ſinfull ingratitude, and diſhonour, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdomes.

But God hath hitherto preſerved Me, and made Me to ſee, That it is no ſtrange thing for men, left to their own paſsions, either to do much evil themſelves, or abuſe the overmuch goodneſſe of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfet is the moſt deſperate and incurable diſeaſe.

I cannot ſay properly that I repent of that Act, ſince I have no reflections upon it as a ſinne of my will, though an errour of too charitable a judgement: onely I am ſorrie other mens eies ſhould be evil, becauſe mine were good.

To thee, (O my God) do I ſtill appeal, whoſe all diſcerning Juſtice ſees through all the diſguiſes of mens pretenſions, and deceitfull darkneſſes of their hearts.

Thou gaveſt me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a heart fitted to ſuffer much from ſome of them.

T

Thy will be done, though never ſo much to the croſsing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be moſt conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing elſe.

Let thy grace teach me wiſely to enjoy as well the fruſtratings, as the fulfillings of My beſt hopes, and moſt ſpecious deſires.

I ſee while I thought to allay others fears, I have raiſed Mine own; and by ſettling them, have unſettled My ſelf.

Thus have they requited me evil for good, and hatred for my good will towards them.

O Lord be thou My Pilot in this dark and dangerous ſtorm, which neither admits My return to the Port whence I ſet out, nor my making any other, with that ſafety and honour which I deſigned.

'Tis eaſie for thee to keep Me ſafe in the love and confidence of My people; nor is it hard for thee to preſerve Me amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too many, which thou haſt ſuffered ſo farre to prevail upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuſe my acts of greateſt Indulgence to them, and aſſurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guilty then My ſelf may be, of miſuſing thoſe many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, haſt conferred on Me.

I beſeech Thee give Me and them ſuch Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and ſuch Grace as we may not abuſe.

Make me ſo farre happy as to make a right uſe of others abuſes, and by their failings of Me, to reflect with a reforming diſpleaſure, upon My offences againſt Thee.

So,

So although for My ſins I am by other mens ſins deprived of thy temporall bleſsings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raiſe the greateſt Sufferers to be the moſt glorious Saints.

6. *Upon his Majeſties retirement from* VVeſtminſter.

WIth what unwillingneſſe I withdrew from *Weſtminſter*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling and victuall, are forced to Sea by a ſtorm; yet better do ſo, then venture ſplitting or ſinking on a Lee ſhore.

I ſtayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by ſhame more then fear; to ſee the barbarous rudeneſſe of thoſe Tumults, who reſolved they would take the boldneſſe to demand any thing, and not leave either My ſelf, or the Members of Parliament the libertie of our Reaſon, and Conſcience to denie them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppreſsion My caſe alone, (though chiefly Mine:) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be overvoted by the major part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their own freedome.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reaſon concluſive to My Judgement; nor can they include, or carrie with them My conſent, whom they repreſent not in any kind; Nor am

am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, then I ſee them agree with the will of God, with My juſt Rights, as a King, and the generall good of My People. I ſee, that as many men, they are ſeldome of one mind; and I may oft ſee that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate minds, how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bills, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all: If ſome mens Hydropick inſatiableneſſe had not learned to thirſt the more, by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royall bountie was able to overcome; ſo reſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure it ceaſes to be Counſell, when not Reaſon is uſed, as to men, to perſwade; but force and terrour as to beaſts, to drive and compell men to aſſent to whatever tumultuarie patrones ſhall project. He deſerves to be a ſlave without pitie, or redemption, that is content to have the rationall ſovereigntie of his Soul, and libertie of his will and words ſo captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdomes ſo conſiderable, as to preſerve them with the forfeiture of that freedome, which cannot be denied Me as a King, becauſe it belongs to Me as a man, and a Chriſtian.

Chriſtian; owning the dictates of none but God to be above Me, as obliging Me to conſent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which ſubjects Me onely to God, ſo farre as by Reaſon or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Title of a King, if it ſhould carry ſuch a vaſſalage with it, as not to ſuffer Me to uſe My Reaſon and Conſcience, in which I declare as a King, to like or diſlike,

So far am I from thinking the Majeſtie of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutiſh formalitie, to conſent to what ever its ſubject in Parliament ſhall require, as ſome men will needs inferre; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not aſhamed to ſeek to deprive Me of the liberty of uſing My Reaſon with a good Conſcience, which themſelves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to denie whatever My Self, as King, or the Houſe of Peers with Me ſhould, not ſo much deſire, as enjoyn them to paſſe. I think My Oath fully diſcharged in that point by My Governing onely by ſuch Laws, as My people with the Houſe of Peers have choſen, and My Self have conſented to. I ſhall never think My Self conſcientiouſly tied to go as of againſt My conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to

ſuch new Propoſalls, which My Reaſon, in Juſtice, Honour, and Religion bids Me denie.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſome men are of their being ſubject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themſelves give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonour and abſurditie, they make their King the onely man, that muſt be ſubject to the will of others: without having power left him, to uſe his own reaſon, either in Perſon, or by any Repreſentation.

And if My diſſentings at any time were (as ſome have ſuſpected, and uncharitably avowed) out of errour, opinion, activeneſſe, weakneſſe, or wilfulneſſe, and what they call obſtinacy in Me (which not true judgement of things, but ſome vehement prejudice or paſsion hath fixed on My mind;) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and Method of ſlavery, by ſavage rudeneſſe, and importunate obtruſions of violence, to have the miſt of his Errour and Paſsion diſpelled, which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerve thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who ſeriouſly endeavours to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reaſon: The uprightneſſe of his intentions, will excuſe the poſsible failings of his underſtanding. If a Pilot at Sea cannot

ſee

ſee the Pole-ſtarre, it can be no fault in him to ſteer his courſe by ſuch ſtarres as do beſt appear to him. It argues rather thoſe men to be conſcious of their defects of Reaſon, and convincing Arguments, who call in the aſsiſtance of mere force, to carry on the weakneſſe of their Councels and Propoſalls. I may, in the Truth and uprightneſſe of My heart, proteſt before God and Men; that I never wilfully oppoſed, or denied any thing that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me by the two Houſes, further then I thought in good reaſon, I might and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever pleaſe Me more, then when my Judgement ſo concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conſcience conſent to them: yea, in many things where not abſolute and morall neceſsity of Reaſon, but temporary convenience on point of Honour was to be conſidered; I choſe rather to deny My Self, then them: as preferring that which they thought neceſſary for My Peoples good, before what I ſaw but convenient for My Self.

For I can be content to recede much from My own intereſts, and Perſonall Rights, of which I conceive My Self to be Maſter; but in what concerneth Truth, Juſtice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the generall good of My Kingdoms; (all which I am bound

(to preſerve as much as morally lies in Me :) here I am, and ever ſhall be fixt and reſolute, nor ſhall any Man gain my conſent to that, wherein My heart gives My tongue or hand the lie; nor will I be brought to affirm that to men, which in My conſcience I denied before God. I will rather choose to wear a Crown of Thorns with my Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of Lead, whoſe embaſed flexibleneſſe ſhall be forced to bend, and comply to the various and oft contrary dictates of any Factions, when in ſtead of Reaſon, and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the intereſt of parties, and flows from the partialities of private wills and paſsions.

I know no reſolutions more worthy a Chriſtian King, then to preferre His Conſcience before his Kingdoms.

O my God, preſerve thy ſervant in this Native, Rationall, and Religious freedome; For this I believe is thy will, that we ſhould maintain: who though thou doeſt juſtly require us, to ſubmit our underſtandings and wills to thine; whoſe wiſdome and goodneſſe can neither erre, nor miſguide us; and ſo farre to denie our carnall reaſon, in order to thy ſacred Myſteries and commands, that we ſhould believe and obey rather then diſpute them; yet doeſt thou expect from us, onely ſuch a reaſonable ſervice of thee, as not to do any thing for thee againſt

againſt our conſciences: and as to the deſires of men, enjoyneſt us to trie all things by the touch-ſtone of Reaſon and Laws, which are the rules of Civil Juſtice, and to declare our conſents to that onely which our judgements approve.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord, how unwilling I was to deſert that place, in which thou haſt ſet me, and whereto the affairs of my Kingdoms at preſent did call me.

My People can witneſſe how far I have been content for their good, to deny my ſelf, in what thou haſt ſubjected to my diſpoſall.

O let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultuarie violence of ſome mens immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous and unmanly ſlaverie, which ſhould make Me ſtrengthen them by My conſent in thoſe things, which I think in My Conſcience to be againſt thy glory, the good of my Subjects, and the diſcharge of my own dutie to Reaſon and Juſtice.

Make me willing to ſuffer the greateſt indignities and injuries they preſſe upon Me, rather then commit the leaſt ſin againſt my Conſcience.

Let the juſt liberties of My people be (as well they may) preſerved in fair and equall wayes, without the ſlavery of my ſoul.

Thou that haſt inveſted me by thy favours, in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer Me not to ſubject my Reaſon to other mens paſſions and deſignes, which to Me ſeem unreaſonable, unjuſt, and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve thee in the truth and uprightneſſe of my heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before Thee.

Lead Me in the way of Truth and Juſtice; for theſe, I know, will bring Me at laſt to peace and happineſſe with Thee, though for theſe I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of Thee for my Saviours ſake.

7. *Upon the Queens departure, and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at My wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her abſence ſo much, as the ſcandall of that neceſsity, which drives her away, doth afflict Me: That She ſhould be compelled by My own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for her ſafety: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects, that have taken up arms againd their King, a Proteſtant: For I look upon this now done in *England*, as another Act of the ſame Tragedie which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a farther alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein we differ. Which

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practiſes to be any obſtruction to Her judgement, ſince it is the motion of thoſe men, (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners; and ſo not to be imputed to the true Engliſh Proteſtants, who continue firm to their former ſettled Principles and Laws.

I am ſorrie My relation to ſo deſerving a Ladie, ſhould be any occaſion of Her danger and affliction, whoſe merits would have ſerved Her for a protection among the ſavage *Indians*, while their rudeneſſe and barbarity knows not ſo perfectly to hate all Virtues, as ſome mens ſubtilty doth; among whom (I yet think) few are ſo malicious, as to hate Her for Her ſelf. The fault is, that ſhe is My wife.

All juſtice then as well as affection commands Me, to ſtudie her ſecurity, who is onely in danger for My ſake; I am content to be toſſed, weather-beaten, and ſhipwrackt, ſo as She may be in ſafe Harbour.

This comfort I ſhall enjoy by her ſafetie in the midſt of My Perſonall dangers, that I can periſh but half, if ſhe be preſerved: in whoſe memorie and hopefull Poſterity, I may yet ſurvive the malice of My enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with My bloud.

I muſt leave her and them, to the love and loyaltie of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſſe ſeverely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by thoſe who in all dutie and Allegiance, ought to have made good that ſafetie, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from thoſe, that diſpute their Loyaltie: Nor can it be ſafe (for any relation) to a King, to tarrie among them who are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitie ſo noble and peacefull a ſoul ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the rudeneſſe of thoſe, who muſt make up their want of juſtice, with inhumanitie and impudence.

Her ſympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make her vertues ſhine with greater luſtre, as ſtarres in the darkeſt nights; and aſſure the envious World, that ſhe loves Me, not My fortunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily forgive, ſince We do not much blame the unkindneſſe of the Generalitie, and Vulgar; for We ſee, God is pleaſed to trie both our patience, by the moſt ſelf-puniſhing ſin, the ingratitude of thoſe, who having eaten of Our bread, and being enriched with Our bountie, have ſcornfully lift up themſelves againſt

againſt Us; and thoſe of Our own Houſhold are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their ſin to their charge, who think to ſatisfie all obligations to dutie, by their Corban of Religion: and can leſſe endure to ſee, then to ſinne againſt their benefactours, as well as their Sovereignes.

But even that policie of my Enemies is ſo farre veniall, as it was neceſſarie to their deſignes by ſcandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to ſeek to drive her out of My Kingdoms; leſt by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyaltie as a Subject, ſhe ſhould have converted to, or retained in their love and Loyaltie, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſſe I may be bleſt with her companie, the more I will retire to God, and My own heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. My enemies may envie, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of Her virtues, while I enjoy My ſelf.

Thou, O Lord, whoſe juſtice at preſent ſees fit to ſcatter us, let thy mercy in thy due time, reunite us on earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at laſt to thy heavenly Kingdome.

Preſerve us from the hands of our deſpiteſull & deadly enemies, and prepare us by our ſufferings for thy preſence.

Though we differ in ſome things, as to Religion, (which

is

is my greateſt temporall infelicity) yet, Lord, give and accept the ſinceritie of our affections, which deſire to ſeek, to find, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy ſelf, and Chriſt crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldſt have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publick relations, and our ſouls eternall good, and make us carefull to do what good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is neceſſary to be known, or unbelief, or diſobedience to what we know, be our miſery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great ſcandall of thoſe My Subjects, which profeſſe the ſame Religion with Me, be any hinderance to her love of any Truth thou wouldſt have her to learn, nor any hardening of her in any errour thou wouldſt have cleared to her.

Let mine and other mens conſtancy be an Antidote againſt the poyſon of their example

Let the truth of that Religion I profeſſe, be repreſented to her judgement, with all the beauties of humility, loyalty, charity, and peaceableneſſe; which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious diſguiſes of levity, ſchiſme, hereſie, novelty, cruelty, and diſloyalty, which ſome mens practiſes have lately put upon it.

Let her ſee thy ſacred and ſaving Truths, as thine; that ſhe may believe, love, and obey them as Thine, cleared from all ruſt and droſſe of humane mixtures.

That in the glaſſe of thy Truth ſhe may ſee thee, in thoſe mercies which thou haſt offered to us, in thy Son Je-

ſus

ſus Chriſt, our onely Saviour, and ſerve thee in all thoſe Holy duties, which moſt agree with his Holy doctrine, and moſt imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane glory and greatneſſe, in our ſcatterings and Eclipſes, let it make us both ſo much the more ambitious to be inveſted in thoſe durable honours, and perfections, which are onely to be found in thy ſelf, and obtained through Jeſus Chriſt.

8. *Upon His Majeſties repulſe at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulſe at *Hull*, ſeemed at the firſt view, an act of ſo rude diſloyalty, that My greateſt enemies had ſcarce confidence enough to abett, or own it: It was the firſt overt eſſay to be made, how patiently I could bear the loſſe of My Kingdoms.

God knows, it affected me more w^th^ ſhame and ſorrow for others, then with anger for my ſelf; nor did the affront done to Me, trouble Me ſo much as their ſin, which admitted no colour or excuſe.

I was reſolved how to bear this, & much more, with patience: But I foreſaw they could hardly contain themſelves within the compaſſe of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was ſoon after to overſpread the whole Kingdome, and caſt all into diſorder and darkneſſe. For

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and diſloyall undertakers: That bad actions muſt alwayes be ſeconded with worſe, and rather not be begun, then not carried on: for they think the retreat more dangerous then the aſſault, and hate repentance more then perſeverance in a fault.

This gave Me to ſee clearly through all the pious diſguiſes, and ſoft palliations of ſome men; whoſe words were ſometime ſmoother then oyl; but now I ſaw they would prove very Swords.

Againſt which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conſcience, thought it My beſt policie (with patience) to bear what I could not remedie: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no diſdain, or emotion of paſsion tranſported Me, by the indignitie of his carriage, to do or ſay any thing unbeſeeming My ſelf, or unſuitable to that temper, which, in greateſt injuries, I think, beſt becomes a Chriſtian, as coming neareſt to the great example of Chriſt.

And indeed, I deſire alwaies more to remember I am a Chriſtian, then a King; for what the Majeſtie of the one might juſtly abhorre, the charitie of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humilitie of a Chriſtian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compaſſe all thoſe impotent paſsions, whoſe

exceſſe

exceſſe injures a man, more then his greateſt enemies can; for theſe give their malice a full impreſſion on our ſouls, which otherwaies cannot reach very farre, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerve, how God not long after ſo pleaded and avenged My cauſe in the eie of the world, that the moſt wilfully blind cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and fear to own it, as a notable ſtroke and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproched, unthreatened, uncurſed by any language or ſecret imprecation of Mine, onely blaſted with the Conſcience of his own wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconſtancie to another, not long after payes his own and his eldeſt Sons heads, as forfeitures of their diſloyaltie to thoſe men, from whom, ſurely he might have expected another reward, then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it ſtrange that they who employed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſſefull to them, ſhould not find mercie enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For, Apoſtacie unto Loyaltie ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſinne.

Nor did a ſolitarie vengeance ſerve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Familie, is not enough

to

to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common-weal. The eldeſt Son muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſin of the Father, againſt the Father of his Countrey: Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancie: God knows, I was ſo farre from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were ſuch as was able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who firſt employed him againſt Me) that I ſo farre pitied him; as I thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience, then many other men do in the ſame cauſe.

For, he was never thought to be of that ſuperſtitious ſowreneſſe, which ſome men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which ſo darkens their judgement, that they cannot ſee any thing of Sin and Rebellion in thoſe means they uſe, with intents to reform to their Models, of what they call Religion; who think all is gold of pietie, which doth but gliſter with a ſhew of zeal and fervencie.

Sir *John Hotham* was, I think, a man of another temper, and ſo moſt liable to thoſe downright temptations of ambition, which have no cloke or cheat of Religion to impoſe upon themſelves or others.

That

That which makes me more pitie him is, that after he began to have ſome inclinations towards a repentance for his ſin, and reparation of his duty to Me, he ſhould be ſo unhappie as to fall into the hands of their Juſtice, and not my mercie, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I think clemencie a debt, which we ought to pay to thoſe that crave it, when we have cauſe to believe they would not after abuſe it; ſince God himſelf ſuffers us not to pay any thing for his mercie, but onely prayers and praiſes.

Poore Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unproſperous diſloyaltie, teaching the world by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereigne, carries alwaies its own vengeance, as an unſeparable ſhadow with it, and thoſe oft prove the moſt fatall and implacable executioners of it, who were the firſt employers in the ſervice.

After-times will diſpute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-hill*; though 'tis certain that no puniſhment ſo ſtains a mans Honour, as wilfull perpetrations of unworthy actions; which beſides the conſcience of the ſin, brands with moſt indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to poſterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the moſt impartiall reflections on the actions.

But

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take any secret pleasure in it: for as his death hath satisfied the injury he did to me, so let me not by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more then the sinne against thee.

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded My cause, even before the sons of men, und taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I do not, I dare not say, So let Mine enemies perish O Lord! yea, Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have most offended Me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy Majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven Me.

Lord lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terrour to all.

Discover to them their sin, who know not they have done amisse, and scare them from their sin, that sin of malicious wickednesse.



That

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may eſcape the ſtrokes of thine eternal vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, eſtabliſh the Throne of thy ſervant in mercy and truth meeting together; let my Crown ever flouriſh in righteouſnes and peace, kiſsing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who haſt taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy ſake: who haſt prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies; and haſt ſent thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſt to die for us, when we were diſpoſed to crucifie him.

9. *Upon the Liſting, and raiſing Armies againſt the King.*

I Find that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was, when they forced Me to leave *Whitehall:* What Tumults could not do, an Armie muſt; which is but Tumults liſted, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My receſſe hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may as to any outward ſtrength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am ſure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me ſuch a meaſure of Conſtancie, as to fear him more then man; and to love

the inward peace of My Conſcience, before any outward tranquillity.

And muſt I be oppoſed with force, becauſe they have not reaſon wherewith to convince me? O my ſoul! be of good courage, they confeſſe their known weakneſſe, as to Truth and Juſtice, who chooſe rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive, for thoſe many Acts of grace I have lately paſſed, and for thoſe many indignities I have endured? Is their no way left to make Me a glorious KING, but by my ſufferings?

It is a hard and diſputable choice for a King that loves his People, and deſires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miſeries of Civil War in the bowels of My moſt flouriſhing Kingdom, the fruits I muſt now reap after ſeventeen years living and reigning among them, with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithſtanding ſome miſcarriages in Government, which might eſcape rather through ill counſel of ſome men driving on their private ends, or the peeviſhneſſe of others, envying the publick ſhould be managed without them; or the hidden & inſuperable neceſsities of State, then any pro-

propenſitie, I hope, of My Self, either to injurioufneſſe or oppreſsion.

Whoſe innocent bloud during My reigne have I ſhed, to ſatisfie My luſt, anger, or covetouſnes? What Widows or Orphans tears can witneſſe againſt Me; the juſt cry of which muſt now be avenged with My own bloud? For the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Canon know any reſpect of perſons.

In vain is My Perſon excepted by a Parentheſis of words, when ſo many hands are armed againſt Me with ſwords,

God knows how much I have ſtudied to ſee what ground of Juſtice is alledged for this War againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoon end ſo unnaturall a motion, which (to many men) ſeems rather the productions of a ſurfet of peace, and wantonneſſe of minds, or of private diſcontents, Ambition, and Faction (which eaſily find, or make cauſes of quarrel) then any reall obſtructions of publick Juſtice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able to avoid and anſwer before God in My own conſcience, however ſome men are not willing to believe Me, leſt they ſhould condemn themſelves.

When I firſt with-drew from *Whitehall*, to ſee if I could allay the inſolencies of the Tumults, (the

not ſuppreſsing of which, no account in Reaſon can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted) but onely to oppreſſe both Mine, and the two Houſes freedome, of declaring and voting according to every mans Conſcience) what obſtructions of Juſtice were there further then this, that what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeem ſo to another?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the Juſtice of Parliament?

That ſome men with-drew, who feared the partiality of their triall, (warned by my Lord of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppreſſours, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that inſtinct which is in all creatures, to preſerve themſelves. If any others refuſed to appear, where they evidently ſaw the current of Juſtice and Freedome ſo ſtopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durſt not come to the Houſes, or not declare their ſenſe with liberty and ſafety; it cannot ſeem ſtrange to any reaſonable man, when the ſole expoſing them to publick *odium*, was enough to ruine them, before their cauſe could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults over-born the Freedome and Honour of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their juſtice againſt them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and

and declare their Conſciences: I know no man ſo dear to Me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to with-draw himſelf, or denie appearing upon their ſummons, to whoſe ſentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timely repreſsing the vulgar inſolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were voted and demanded as Delinquents, was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages or preſence, the deſignes of thoſe men who agitated innovations, and ruine, both in Church & State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancie and cautiouſneſſe; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorineſſe againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more then Safetie, Fulneſſe, and Freedome.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary waies by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activity of factious Tumults) to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members, whom they ſaw to be of contrary minds to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſſe of the Biſhops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the Houſe of Peers, carried for them by farre the major part of Lords. Yet after five repulſes, contrary to all Order and Cuſtome, it was by tumultuary inſtigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when moſt of the Peers were forced to abſent themſelves.

In like manner, was the Bill againſt Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary clamours, and ſchiſmaticall Terrours, which could never paſſe, till both Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which partiality, while in all Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion, my conſcience forbids Me by conſenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I muſt now be urged with an Army, and conſtrained either to hazard My own, and My Kingdoms ruine, by my Defence; or proſtrate my Conſcience to the blind obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous ſuperſtition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater ſervice, then utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolicall, and anciently Univerſall Government of the Church by Biſhops.

Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintain, or forbids them to conſent to the aboliſhing of it, Mine much more; who beſides the grounds I have in My judgement, have

alſo

alſo a moſt ſtrict and indiſpenſable Oath upon My Conſcience, to preſerve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which moſt ſacriſegious and abhorred Perjury, moſt unbeſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving My conſent be betrayed, I ſhould account it infinitely greater miſery, then any hath, or can befall Me; in as much as the leaſt ſinne hath more evil in it, then the greateſt affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-epiſcopall Faction at firſt in this point, with my conſent, and ſacrificed the Eccleſiaſticall Government and Revenues, to the furie of their covetouſneſſe, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable neceſsitie of raiſing an Armie to fetch in, and puniſh Delinquents.

That I conſented to the Bill of putting the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, was done with a firm perſwaſion of their contentedneſſe to ſuffer a preſent diminution in their Rights and Honour for My ſake, and the Common weals, which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather then occaſion (by the leaſt obſtruction on their part) any dangers to Me or to My Kingdom. That I cannot adde My conſent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath ſo much further tie upon My Conſcience, as what I think Religious and Apoſtolicall; and

ſo very Sacred and Divine, is not to be diſpenſed with, or deſtroyed, when what is onely of civill Favour, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their conſent who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true ſtate of thoſe obſtructions pretended to be in point of Juſtice, and Authoritie of Parliament; when I call God to witneſſe, I knew none of ſuch conſequence as was worth ſpeaking of a War, being onely ſuch as Juſtice, Reaſon, and Religion had made in mine own and other mens Conſciences.

Afterwards indeed, a great ſhew of Delinquents was made, which were but conſequences neceſſarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence againſt violence: but thoſe could not be the firſt occaſion of raiſing an Armie againſt Me. Wherein I was ſo far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might ſeem to have the advantage and Juſtice of the defenſive part, and load Me with all the envie and injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that God knows, I had not ſo much as any hopes of an Armie in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and Effectually repreſſed by exemplary Juſtice, and the libertie of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all Members of either Houſe might with Honour and Freedome, becoming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſcharged their Conſci-

Conſciences, I had obtained all that I deſigned by my withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and ſpeedily returned, then I retired; this being my neceſsity driving, the other my choice deſiring.

But ſome men knew, I was like to bring the ſame judgement and conſtancie, which I carried with Me, which would never fit their deſignes: and ſo while they invited Me to come, and grievouſly complained of my abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it: eſpecially when they had found out that plauſible and popular pretext of raiſing an Armie to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquencie of the Tumults, and their exciters, which drave my Self, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reaſon and Honour, they were as loth to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the injuries of an an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate and firſt drift and deſigne in raiſing an Armie againſt Me, is by the ſequell ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions, or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them,

t here

there was nothing of consequence offered to me, or demanded of me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Justice. But among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopall, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded, were either impertinent as to any ground of a Warre, or easily granted by Me, and onely to make up a number, or else they were merely consequentiall, and accessary, after the Warre was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of pietie, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearnesse of judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an Armie, with this designe, either to stop my mouth, or to force my consent: and in this truth, as to my conscience, (who was (God knows) as farre from meditating a Warre, as I was in the eie of the world from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this Warre, on my side, I do not think my Innocencie any whit prejudiced or darkened: Nor am I without that integri-

ty,

tie, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſſe my Prayer to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgeſt without prejudice: Thy omniſcience eternally guides thy unerrable judgement.

O my God, the proud are riſen againſt Me, and the aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after my ſoul, and have not ſet Thee before their eyes.

Conſider My enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate Me with a deadly hatred without a cauſe.

For thou knoweſt, I had no paſsion, deſigne, or preparation to embroyl my Kingdoms in a Civil Warre; whereto I had leaſt temptation, as knowing I muſt adventure more then any, and could gain leaſt of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witneſſe how oft I have deplored, and ſtudied to divert the neceſsity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought ſo prodigally thirſty of my Subjects bloud, as to venture my own Life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy Warre; and which were better ſpent to ſave, then to deſtroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to bring upon Me; but much more to bear the unjuſt reproches of thoſe, who not content that I ſuffer moſt by the Warre, will needs perſwade the world, that I have raiſed firſt or given juſt cauſe to raiſe it.

The confidence of ſome mens falſe tongues is ſuch, that they would make Me almoſt ſuſpect my own Innocencie:

Yea,

Yea, I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon Me ſo great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeem my People from this miſerable Warre, ſince thou, O Lord, knoweſt my innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloudy and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their dayes, in which they promiſed themſelves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counſels.

Save, O Lord, thy ſervant, as hitherto thou haſt, and in thy due time ſcatter the people that delight in Warre.

Ariſe, O Lord, lift up thy ſelf, becauſe of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaſeth more and more. Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquitie, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chief deſigne of this Warre is, either to deſtroy My Perſon, or force My Judgement, and to make Me renege My Conſcience and thy Truth.

I am driven to croſſe Davids choice, and deſire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruel,) then into thy hands by ſinning againſt My Conſcience, and in that againſt thee, who art a conſuming fire: Better they deſtroy Me, then thou ſhouldſt damn Me.

Be thou ever the defence of My ſoul, who wilt ſave the upright in heart.

If nothing but My bloud will ſatisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms, or thy temporall juſtice,

juſtice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be ſhed by Mine own Subjects hands.

But, O let the bloud of Me, though their King, yet a ſinner, be waſhed with the bloud of My Innocent and Peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy Juſtice will find not onely a temporary expiation, but an eternall plenary ſatisfaction, both for My ſins, and the ſins of My People; whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeaſed by My Death, O remember thy great mercies toward them! and forgive them O my Father! for they know not what they do.

10. *Upon their ſeizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am Charged with the firſt raiſing of an Army, and beginning this Civil Warre, the eyes that onely pitie Me, and the Loyall hearts that durſt onely pray for Me, at firſt might witneſſe, which yet appear not ſo many on My ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt Me: My unpreparedneſſe for a War may well diſ-hearten thoſe that would help Me; while it argues (truly) my unwillingneſſe to fight; yet it teſtifies for Me, that I am ſet on the defenſive part, having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My ſelf, or to preſerve what is mine own from their proreption.

No

No man can doubt but they prevented Me in their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who are ſo much beforehand in their preparations againſt Me, and ſurpriſalls of my ſtrength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; ſo over-aw'd is their Loyaltie by the others numbers and terrours. I believe my Innocencie, and unpreparedneſſe to aſſert my Rights and Honour, makes Me the more guiltie in their eſteem, who would not ſo eaſily have declared a Warre againſt Me, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew my chiefeſt Arms left Me, were thoſe onely, which the ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutours, Prayers and Tears. Theſe may ſerve a good mans turn, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to ſuffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and ſurprizing my Caſtles, Forts, Arms, and Navie, with the *Militia*, is ſo farre beſt for Me, that it may drive Me from putting any truſt in the arm of fleſh, and wholly to caſt my Self into the protection of the living God, who can ſave by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedie Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make their ſurpriſall of outward force and defence, an opportunitie to ſhew Me the ſpeciall ſupport of his power and protection.

I thank God, I reckon not now the want of the *Militia*, ſo much in reference to my own protection, as my Peoples.

Their many and ſore oppreſsions grieve Me, I am above my own; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Praier.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take, to reſolve their riddle of making Me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I ſhall become a ſupport to my Friends, and a Terrour to my Enemies; by being unable to ſuccour the one, or ſuppreſſe the other.

For thus have they deſigned, and propoſed to Me, the new modelling of Sovereigntie and Kingſhip; ſo without any realitie of power, ſo without any neceſsitie of ſubjection and obedience; that the Majeſtie of the Kings of *England* might hereafter, hang like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magnetick Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houſes, in an aierie imagination of Regalitie.

But I believe the ſurfet of too much Power, which ſome men have greedily ſeized on, and now ſeek wholly to devoure, will ere long make the Common-wealth ſick both of it and them, ſince they cannot well digeſt it. Sovereigne power in Subjects ſeldome agreeing with the ſtomachs of Fellow-ſubjects.

Yet

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant *Militia* ſought, by ſatisfying their fears and importunities, both to ſecure my Friends, and overcome mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving my Self of a ſole power to help or hurt any; yielding the *Militia* (which is my undoubted Right no leſſe then the Crown) to be diſpoſed of as the two Houſes ſhall think fit, during my time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealouſies in them, of Me, and to live above all Jealouſies of them, as to my Self; I deſire not to be ſafer then I wiſh them and My People; if I had the ſole actuall diſpoſing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, further then they protected Me, and themſelves; ſo that the uſe of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend my Self ſo farre, as to be able to defend my good ſubjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who conſcious to their own evil merits and deſignes, will needs perſwade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught My ſubjects, ſince power hath been wreſted from Me, and employed againſt Me and Them; that neither can be ſafe, if both be not in ſuch a way, as the Law hath entruſted the publick ſafetie and welfare.

Yet even this Conceſsion of mine as to the exerciſe of the *Militia*, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactory

factory to ſome men, which ſeem to be enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are reſolved to tranſmit to poſteritie ſuch Jealouſies of the Crown, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſary Rights, in point of power; to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But here Honour and Juſtice due to my Succeſſors, forbid Me to yield to ſuch a total alienation of that power from them, which civilitie and duty (no leſſe then Juſtice and Honour) ſhould have forbad them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to eclipſe my own beams, to ſatisfie their fears, who think they muſt needs be ſcorched or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſtre of Kingly power, wherewith God and the Laws have inveſted Me; yet I will never conſent to put out the Sun of Sovereigntie to all Poſterity, and ſucceeding Kings; whoſe juſt recovery of their Rights from unjuſt uſurpations and extortions, ſhall never be prejudiced or obſtructed by any Act of Mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to ſucceeding Kings, then to My Subjects; whom I deſire to leave in a condition not wholly deſperate for the future, ſo as by a Law to be ever ſubjected to thoſe many factious diſtractions, which muſt needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government; which as it makes a ſhew to the Peo-

ple to have more eyes to foreſee; ſo they will find it hath more mouths too, which muſt be ſatisfied: and (at beſt) it hath rather a monſtroſitie, then any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counſel may be in many as the ſenſes, but the ſupreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily, when men have tried the horrours and malignant influence, which will certainly follow My enforced darkneſſe and eclypſe (occaſioned by the interpoſition and ſhadow of that bodie, which (as the Moon) receiveth its chiefeſt light from Me) they will at length more eſteem and welcome the reſtored glory and bleſſing of the Suns light.

And if at preſent I may ſeem by My receding ſo much from the uſe of My Right, in the power of the *Militia*, to come ſhort of the diſcharge of that truſt, to which I am ſworn for my Peoples protection; I conceive thoſe men are guiltie of the enforced perjury, (if ſo it may ſeem) who compell Me to take this new and ſtrange way of diſcharging My truſt, by ſeeming to deſert it; of protecting my Subjects, by expoſing My Self to danger or diſhonour, for their ſafetie and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civil Warre, and advantages of Power, cannot be effected but by ſome ſide yielding; to which the greateſt love of

the

the publick peace, & the firmeſt aſſurance of Gods protection (ariſing from a good conſcience) doth more invite Me, then can be expected from other mens fears; which ariſing from the injuſtice of their actions (though never ſo ſucceſſefull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of ſafetie, then that of the Sword and *Militia*, which yet are but weak defences againſt the ſtrokes of Divine Vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens own Conſciences, which alwayes attend injurious perpetrations.

For My Self, I do not think that I can want any thing, which providentiall neceſsity is pleaſed to take from Me, in order to my Peoples tranquillity and Gods glory, whoſe protection is ſufficient for Me; and he is able by his being with Me, abundantly to compenſate to Me, as he did to *Job*, what evet honour, power, or libertie, the Chaldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devil himſelf can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all Defence of Arms and *Militia*, all refuge by land, of Forts, and Caſtles; all flight by ſea in my Ships, and Navie: yea, though they ſtudie to rob Me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greateſt Treaſure and beſt ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive Me of mine own innocency, or Gods mercie, nor obſtruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with me, then can be againſt me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I deſire in compariſon of Thee: In the loſſe of all, be thou more then all to Me. Make haſte to ſuccour me, Thou that never faileſt them, that put their truſt in thee.

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt Me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for Me: But my eyes are toward Thee.

Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine: If not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If thou delighteſt not in my ſafetie and proſperity, behold, here I am, willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whoſe Judgements oft begin with thine own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that Thou mayſt be all.

Thou haſt taught me, That no King can be ſaved by the multitude of an hoſt; but yet thou canſt ſave me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on every ſide, yet be thou on my ſide, and I ſhall not fear what man can do unto mee.

I will give thy Juſtice the glory of my diſtreſſe.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that perſecute my Soul.

By my ſinnes have I fought againſt Thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy ſubject, and juſtly mayſt Thou

Thou, by mine own Subjects ſtrip me of my ſtrength, and eclipſe my glory.

But ſhew thy ſelf, O my hope, and onely refuge! Let not mine enemies ſay, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footſteps ſlip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the ſhadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindneſſe, O thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand, them that put their truſt in thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them.

From the wicked that oppreſſe me, from my deadly enemies that compaſſe me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſſe of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.

11. *Upon the* 19. *Propoſitions firſt ſent to the King; and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things they demand, yet if theſe be all, I am glad to ſee at what price they ſet My own ſafetie, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, ſave onely the parting with My Conſcience and Honour. If nothing elſe will ſatisfie, I muſt chooſe rather to be as miſerable and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wiſh Me.

Some things here propounded to Me, have been offered by Me: Others are eaſily granted:

The reſt (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword: nor urged with the injuries of a War, when I have already declared, that I cannot yield to them, without violating my Conſcience: 'tis ſtrange, there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon my ſoul.

Here are many things required of Me, but I ſee nothing offered to Me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour: or any requitall for thoſe favours I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they do Me, to put Me on the giving part, which is more Princely and Divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reſerve to my Self the Incommunicable jewel of my conſcience, and not be forced to part with that, whoſe loſſe nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeem unreaſonable to Me, and while I have any Maſterie of my Reaſon, how can they think I can conſent to them? Who know they are ſuch as are inconſiſtent with being either a King, or a good Chriſtian. My yielding ſo much (as I have already) makes ſome men confident I will denie nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon Me; but the love of Truth and inward Peace hath more.

Should I grant ſome things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken my outward ſtate of

a King, as wound that inward quiet of my Conſcience, which ought to be, is, and ever ſhall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me then my Kingdoms

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at ſome time to be denied to ſome men, leſt He ſhould ſeem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreaſonable demands or importunities.

But to bind my ſelf to a generall and implicite conſent, to whatever they ſhal deſire or propound (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Freeman, nor fit to be required of any man, much leſſe of a King by his own Subjects; any of whom he may poſsibly exceed as much in wiſdome, as he doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampſon* ſhould have conſented, not onely to bind his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philiſtins* might with the more ſafety mock and abuſe him, which they choſe rather to do, then quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an object, and fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, ſeems an arrogancy, leaſt of all becoming thoſe who pretend to make their addreſſes in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who by that ſufficiently confeſſe their own inferiority, which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quieted with

ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of Reaſon, to conſent, or diſſent; elſe it were very fooliſh and abſurd, to ask what another having not libertie to denie, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me in Reaſon as a Man, and in Honour as a Sovereigne King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extreme injurie, to confine my Reaſon to a neceſsity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whoſe minds may be as differing from Mine both in Reaſon and Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which laſt, God and the Laws have ſufficiently diſtinguiſht, making Me their Sovereigne, and them My Subjects: whoſe Propoſitions may ſoon prove violent oppoſitions, if once they gain to be neceſſary impoſitions upon the Regal Authority. Since no man ſeeks to limit and confine his King in Reaſon, who hath not a ſecret aim to ſhare with him, or uſurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Me truſt to their moderation, and abandon mine own diſcretion; that ſo I might verifie what repreſentations ſome have made of Me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupill, then their Prince. Truly I am not ſo confident of My own ſufficiency, as not willingly

ly to admit the Counſell of others: But yet I am not ſo diffident of my Self, as brutiſhly to ſubmit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Sovereigntie of Reaſon in My Soul, and the Majeſtie of My own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Leaſt of all have I any ground of credulitie, to induce me fully to ſubmit to all the deſires of thoſe men, who will not admit, or do refuſe, and neglect to vindicate the freedome of their own and others, ſitting and voting in Parliament.

Beſides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the moſt part) of theſe propounders are; ſo that, till experience of one ſeven years hath ſhewed me, how well they can govern themſelves, and ſo much power as is wreſted from Me, I ſhould be very fooliſh indeed, and unfaithfull in my Truſt, to put the reins of both Reaſon and Government, wholly out of my own, into their hands; whoſe driving is alreadie too much like *Febus's*, and whoſe forwardneſſe to aſcend the throne of Supremacie, portends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will

They may remember, that at beſt they ſit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Counſellours, nor Dictatours; Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command My dutie.

When

When I firſt heard of Propoſitions to be ſent Me, I expected either ſome good Laws, which had been antiquated by the courſe of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been deſired to a reſtauration of their vigour and due execution; or ſome evil cuſtomes preterlegall, and abuſes perſonall had been to be removed: or ſome injuries done by My Self, and others, to the Common-weal, were to be repaired, or ſome equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of my Crown being conſidered by them, might fairly induce Me to condeſcend, to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of My Self, whom Nature, Law, Reaſon, and Religion bind Me (in the firſt place) to preſerve: without which it is impoſsible to preſerve my People, according to my Place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſſe in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the foundation and eſſentialls of Government in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the wiſdome and pietie of former Parliaments, the ancient and univerſall practiſe of Chriſtian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what muſt be deſtroyed; which might

might at once reach the good end of the others Inſtitution, and alſo ſupplie its pretended defects, reform its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men, not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeal and ſpeciall pietie; but with pregnant and ſolid reaſons both divine and humane, which might juſtifie the abruptneſſe and neceſſitie of ſuch vaſt alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerve little of theſe kinds, or to theſe ends: Nothing of any Laws disjoynted, which are to be reſtored; of any right invaded; of any juſtice to be unobſtructed; of any compenſations to be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reaſon, Religion, true Policie, or any other humane motives might induce Me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great noveltie, or difficultie, I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schiſmes in the Church, and ſo puniſhable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and aſsiſtance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themſelves, in their vanitie, noveltie, and confuſion; but alſo Abolition of the Laws againſt them, and a totall extirpation of that Government, whoſe Rights they have a mind to invade.

This,

This, as to the main; other Propoſitions are (for the moſt part) but as waſte paper, in which thoſe are wrapped up to preſent them ſomewhat more handſomely.

Nor do I ſo much wonder at the varietie, and horrible noveltie of ſome Propoſitions, (there being nothing ſo monſtrous, which ſome fancies are not prone to long for.)

This caſts Me into, not an admiration, but an extaſie how ſuch things ſhould have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſe, whoſe judgements free, ſingle, and apart, did approve or deſire ſuch deſtructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perſwaded there remains in farre the major part of both Houſes, (if free, and full) ſo much Learning, Reaſon, Religion, and juſt moderation, as to know how to ſever between the uſe and the abuſe of things; the inſtitution, and the corruption; the Government and the Miſ-government; the Primitive Patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon ſo little, or no Reaſon (as yet produced to the contrary) ſo ſoon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquitie, to the pietie of their reforming Progenitours,

nitours, to the prosperitie of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatalitie, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulitie, (believing that all is gold, which is gilded with shews of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgement, to be drawn into the common sewer or stream of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chief rise and abetment from those popular clamours and Tumults, which served to give life and strength to the infinite activitie of those men, who studied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their innovating designes, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions, having so little in My Judgement of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side; as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be backt and seconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the second should prevail against My Person, yet the first shall never overcome Me, further then I see cause; for, I look not at their number and power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults, which can be

no

no other then the hounds that attend the crie, and hollow of thoſe Men, who hunt after Factious, and private Deſignes, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My Judgement tell Me, that the Propoſitions ſent to Me were the Reſults of the major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their freedome, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſuſpect my own judgement, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charitie enough to think, there are wiſe men among them: and humilitie to think, that, as in ſome things I may want; ſo 'tis fit I ſhould uſe their advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdome ſuch a completeneſſe and inerrabilitie, as to exclude my Self; ſince none of them hath that part to Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honour to preſerve, as my Self; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs, (as the Suns influence is neceſſary in all Natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one complete and authoritative Act of publick wiſdome, which makes the Laws.

But the unreaſonableneſſe of ſome Propoſitions, is not more evident to Me then this is, That they are not the joynt and free deſires of thoſe

thoſe in their major number, who are of right to ſit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them ſavour very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under that name of Reformation; (which in my two laſt famous Predeceſſours dayes, heaved at, and ſometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am ſure, was never wont ſo farre to infect the whole maſſe of the Nobilitie and Gentry of this Kingdome; however it diſperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taint the major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and affect ſo enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State; contrary to their former education, practiſe, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much Faction in the Countreys; ſome thirſting after nothing more, then a paſsionate revenge of whatever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt Me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids Me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State command Me, to chew ſuch

ſuch morſells, before I let them down; If the ſtraitneſſe of my Conſcience will not give Me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels, as others do, of Sacriledge, and injuſtice both to God and man, they have no more cauſe to quarrell with Me, then for this, that my throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am reſolved, that nothing of paſsion, or peeviſhneſſe, or liſt to contradict, or vanity to ſhew my negative power, ſhall have any byas upon my judgement, to make Me gratifie my will, by denying any thing which my Reaſon and Conſcience commands Me not.

Nor on the other ſide, will I conſent to more then Reaſon, Juſtice, Honour, and Religion perſwade Me, to be for Gods glory, and the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will ſtudy to ſatisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for fear, or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent ſoever; for this were to nouriſh the diſeaſe, and oppreſſe the bodie.

Although many mens loyaltie and prudence are terrified, from giving Me that free and faithfull counſell, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder Me from craving of the counſell of that mighty Counſellour, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline my heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

O thou first and eternall Reason, whose wisdome is fortified with Omnipotency, furnish thy Servant, first with clear discoveries of Truth, Reason, and Justice, in my Understanding; then so confirm my will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppressions of my enemies, may ever enforce Me against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in my Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be lesse then a Man; and not dare to say, Yea, or Nay, as I see cause; which freedome is not denied to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason, and libertie of speech.

Shall that be blameable in Me, which is commendable veracity, and constancy in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality and injustice, they deny that freedome to Me their KING, which thou hast given to all men; and which themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves, while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.

To Thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens proposals, which I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before me.

Let not my own sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy Word my rule, and then, Thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men: If I may be happy to please Thee, I need not fear whom I displease.

Thou that makest the Wisdome of the world foolishnesse, and takest in their own devices such as are Wise in their own conceits, make Me Wise by thy Truth, for Thy honour, my Kingdoms generall good, and my own souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the Worlds opinion or diminution of Me.

The lesse Wisdome they are willing to impute to Me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdome directing Me, while I denie nothing fit to be granted, out of crossenesse or humour, nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear or flattery of men.

Suffer Me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designes, which are injurious to the publick good, while I confirm them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publick of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make Me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advice, when it appears to be for the Publick good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours, as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evil and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord, make Me carefull of those solemn Declarations of my mind, which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publick, either for Wo or weal.

The

The leſſe others conſider what they ask, make me the more ſolicitous what I anſwer.

Though mine own, and my Peoples preſſures are grievous, and peace would be very pleaſing; yet, Lord, never ſuffer Me to avoid the one, or purchaſe the other, with the leaſt expenſe or waſt of my Conſcience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art deſervedly more Maſter then my ſelf.

12. *Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were ſo ſudden, and ſo violent, that it was hard at firſt, either to diſcern the riſe, or apply a remedie to that precipitate Rebellion.

Indeed, that ſea of bloud which hath there been cruelly and barbarouſly ſhed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamie and miſerie, whom God ſhall find the malicious Authour or Inſtigatour of its effuſion.

It fell out, as a moſt unhappie advantage to ſome mens malice againſt Me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to My charge, this bloudy opportunitie ſhould be offered them, with which I muſt be aſperſed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to Me, being ſo full of ſinne againſt God, diſloyaltie to my Self, and deſtructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the Iriſh Rebels did, was done with My privitie (at leaſt) if not by my Commiſsion. But theſe knew too well, that it is no news for ſome of my Subjects, to fight, not onely without my Commiſsion, but againſt my Command, and Perſon too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for my Safety.

I would to God the Iriſh had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt needs be the greater, by how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, then thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſſe of mens intentions, excuſe the ſcandal, and contagion of their examples.

But whoever fail of their dutie toward Me, I muſt bear the blame; this Honour my Enemies have alwayes done Me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to Me, nor competent trials either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore with exquiſite malice they have mixed the gall and vineger of falſitie and contempt, with the cup of my Affliction; Charging me not onely with untruths, but ſuch as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſſe and diſhonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policie, Reaſon, and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to

give

give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world, the more inhumane and barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick monſter, whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink, but the fleſh and bloud of mine own Subjects; in whoſe common welfare my intereſt lies as much as ſome mens doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot do well, but in evil times; nor ſo cunningly, as in laying the *odium* of thoſe ſad events on others, wherwith themſelves are moſt pleaſed, & whereof they have been not the leaſt occaſion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wiſe men, that the prepoſterous rigour, and unreaſonable ſeverity, which ſome men carried before them in *England*, was not the leaſt incentive, that kindled and blew up into thoſe horrid flames, the ſparks of diſcontent, which wanted not pre-diſpoſed fewell for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where deſpair being added to their former diſcontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppreſsions, it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough, to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome Principles of their Religion, and the naturall deſires of libertie; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after rigours, wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparently threatned, by the covetous

zeal and uncharitable fury of ſome men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth waſh my hands in Innocencie, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in my Tears, as to the ſad apprehenſions I had, to ſee it ſpread ſo farre, and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when diſtractions and jealouſies here in *England*, made moſt men rather intent to their own ſafety, or deſignes they were driving, then to the relief of thoſe, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whoſe tears and bloud might, if nothing elſe, have quenched, or at leaſt for a time, repreſſed and ſmothered thoſe ſparks of Civill diſſentions, and Jealouſies, which in *England* ſome men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had been leſſe affected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate then my Self; I offered to go my Self in Perſon upon that expedition; But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdome quieted; or loth they were to ſhoot at any mark here leſſe then my Self; or that any ſhould have the glory of my deſtruction but themſelves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been ſo great, nor the calamitie ſo long, nor the remedie ſo deſperate.

So

So that next to the ſinne of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, theirs muſt needs be, who either hindered the ſpeedie ſuppreſsing of it by Domeſtick diſſentions, or diverted the Aids, or exaſperated the Rebells to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all extremities, not onely to the known heads, and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, men, women, and children, without any regard to thoſe uſuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breaſts, in behalf of thoſe, whoſe oppreſsive fears, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecillity for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which prepoſterous and (I think) un-evangelicall Zeal, is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulſe or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* ſons, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chooſing rather to uſe all extremities, which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſome with examplary Juſtice, yet diſarm others with tenders of mercy upon their ſubmiſ-

on, and our protection of them, from the fury of thoſe, who would ſoon drown them, if they re-ſuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſome kind of zeal counts all mercifull moderation, lukewarmneſſe, and had rather be cruel then counted cold; and is not ſeldome more greedie to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done. The confiſcation of mens eſtates being more beneficiall, then the charitie of ſaving their lives, or reforming their errours.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred, and over-born with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) was diverted and obſtructed here; I was earneſtly entreated, and generally adviſed by the chief of the Proteſtant party there, to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probability (unleſſe by miracle) to preſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped. God knows with how much commiſeration and ſolicitous caution, I carried on that buſineſſe, by perſons of Honour and Integritie, that ſo I might neither incourage the Rebels Inſolence, nor diſcourage the Proteſtants Loyaltie and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the beſt ſort, that the neceſsitie and difficultie of affairs would then permit, I was then to ſuffer again in my reputa-

tion

tion and Honour, becauſe I ſuffered not the Rebels utterly to devoure the remaining handfulls of the Proteſtants there.

I thought, that in all reaſon, the gaining of that reſpite could not be ſo much to the Rebels advantages (which ſome have highly calumniated againſt Me) as it might have been for the Proteſtants future, as well as preſent ſafety; If during the time of that Ceſſation, ſome men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* ſad condition more to heart, and laid aſide thoſe violent motions, which were here carried on by thoſe, that had better skill to let bloud, then to ſtanch it.

But in all the miſconſtructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulitie in men to what is falſe and evil, then love or charitie to what is true and good) (as I have no Judge but God above Me, ſo I can have comfort to appeal to his Omniſcience, who doth not therefore denie my Innocence, becauſe he is pleaſed ſo farre to trie my patience, as he did his ſervant *Jobs*.

I have enough to do to look to my own Conſcience, and the faithfull diſcharge of my Truſt as a KING; I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarms of reproches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouthes and hearts, as eaſily as ſmoke, or ſparks do out of a fornace: Much leſſe, to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction:

ſatisfaction; who conſcious to their own depth of wickedneſſe, are loth to believe any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and heare ill: If I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to hear the other.

I thank God, I can heare with patience, as bad as my worſt enemies can falſely ſay. And I hope I ſhall ſtill do better then they deſire, or deſerve I ſhould.

I believe, it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroyl my other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not timely ſtopping thoſe horrid effuſions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies pleaſe to ſay, or think) I look upon, as that of my other Kingdoms, exhauſted out of my own veins; no man being ſo much weakened by it, as my Self: And I hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercie of God will at length ſay to his juſtice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civil Warres to ſheath it ſelf: his merciſull juſtice intending, I truſt not our utter confuſion, but our cure: the abatement of our ſinnes, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

O my God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abuſed,

abuſed, and can never deſerve, ſhould be reſtored.

Thou ſeeſt how muuh cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſſe we crucifie one another.

Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiſed in charity, thou haſt ſuffered a Spirit of Errour and bitterneſſe, of mutuall & mortall hatred to riſe among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.

Let our Repentance be our recovery, as our great ſins have been our ruine.

Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto ſuffered, ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appear to our conſciences, as they are repreſented in the glaſſe of thy judgements; for thou never puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our ſins, and remove thy judgements which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our ſinnes be ever more grievous to us, then thy judgements; and make us more willing to repent, then to be relieved; firſt give us the peace of penitent conſciences, and then the tranquillitie of united Kingdoms.

In the ſea of our Saviours bloud drown our ſins; and through this red ſea of our own bloud, bring us at laſt to a ſtate of pietie, peace and plenty.

As my publick relations to all, make Me ſhare in all my Subjects ſufferings; ſo give Me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them, as becomes a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of My people.

Let

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproches caſt upon Me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſsion; Give Me grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruel Zeal hath kindled, or hindered the quenching of thoſe flames, which have ſo much waſted my three Kingdoms.

O reſcue and aſsiſt thoſe poore Proteſtants in Ireland, *whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved.*

And lead thoſe in the wayes of thy ſaving Truths, whoſe ignorance or errours have filled them with rebellious and deſtructive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good ſervice.

Let the hand of thy juſtice be againſt thoſe, who maliciouſly and deſpitefully have raiſed or fomented thoſe cruel and deſperate Warres.

Thou that art farre from deſtroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the Erroneous with the Malicious; Thou that hadſt pity on Nineveh *for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole ſtock of that populous and ſeduced Nation, to the wrath of thoſe, whoſe covetouſneſſe makes them cruel; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore juſtly curſed.*

Preſerve, if it be thy will, in the midſt of the fornace of thy ſevere juſtice, a Poſteritie, which may praiſe thee for thy mercy.

And deal with Me, not according to mans unjuſt reproches, but according to the Innocency of my hands in thy ſight.

If I have deſired, or delighted in the wofull day of my

my Kingdomes calamities, if I have not earneſtly ſtudied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloudy diſtractions; then let thy hand be againſt Me, and my Fathers houſe. O Lord, thou ſeeſt I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, ſo I ſhould not dare thus to imprecate thy curſe on Me, and Mine, if my Conſcience did not witneſſe my integritie, which Thou, O Lord, knoweſt right well; But I truſt not to my own merit, but thy mercies; Spare Me, O Lord, and be not angry with Me for ever.

13. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their Coming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignties, and Bounty, with my Father of bleſſed memorie; but alſo ſpeciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them ſo farre, that I ſeemed to many, to preferre the deſires of that party, before my own Intereſt and Honour. But, I ſee, Royall bountie emboldens ſome men to ask and act beyond all bounds of modeſtie and gratitude.

My charitie, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former paſſages; wherein I ſhall ever be farre from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconſtancie, make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publick good: I pray God it may ſo prove.

The

The coming again of that partie into *England*, with an Army, onely to conform this Church to their late new modell, cannot but ſeem as unreaſonable, as they would have thought the ſame meaſure offered from hence to themſelves.

Other errand I could never underſtand they had, (beſides thoſe common and vulgar flouriſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copie they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudie Characters.

Which deſigne and end, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent means, before the divine Juſtice, I leave to their Conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſerie of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdome, or that.

Such knots and croſſeneſſe of grain being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that form which they crie up, as the onely juſt Reformation, and ſettling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to go on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*, and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergie, through levitie, or diſcontent, if no worſe paſsion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacie, and faced about to their Presbyterie.

It cannot but ſeem either paſsion, or ſome ſelf-

ſelf-ſeeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Diſcretion, for any forrein State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicines onely for others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſsively then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any ſuch tough and malignant humours in the conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Church, which gentler applications then thoſe of an Army, might not eaſily have removed: Nor is it ſo proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to poliſh them by fair and equall diſputations, among thoſe that are moſt concerned in the differences, whom not force, but Reaſon ought to convince.

But their deſigne now, ſeemed rather to cut off all diſputation here, then to procure a fair and equall one: For, it was concluded there, that the *Engliſh* Clergie muſt conform to the *Scots* pattern, before ever they could be heard, what they could ſay for themſelves, or againſt the others way.

I could have wiſhed fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with ſuch violence; and for other mens Conſciences too; who can receive little ſatisfaction in theſe points, which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, then Scholars diſputing in free and learned Synods. Sure,

Sure, in matters of Religion, thoſe truths gain moſt on mens Judgements and Conſciences, which are leaſt urged with ſecular violence, which weakens truth with prejudices; and is unreaſonable to be uſed, till ſuch means of rationall conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuſe for ignorance, condemns mens obſtinacie to deſerved penalties.

Which no charity will eaſily ſuſpect of ſo many learned and pious Churchmen in *England*; who being alwayes bred up, and conformable to the Government of Epiſcopacie, cannot ſo ſoon renounce both their former opinion and practiſe, onely becauſe that partie of the *Scots*, will needs by force aſsiſt a like Party here; either to drive all Miniſters, as ſheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or deſtroy them; at leaſt fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scots* ſole Presbyterie were proved to be the onely Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove, that Chriſt had given thoſe *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects Commiſsion, by the Sword to ſet it up in any of my Kingdoms, without my Conſent.

What reſpect and obedience Chriſt and his Apoſtles paid to the chief Governours of States where they lived, is very clear in the Goſpel; but that he, or they ever commanded to ſet up ſuch

a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour; I think is not very disputable.

If Presbyterie in such a supremacie be an institution of Christ, sure it differs from all others, and is the first and onely point of Christianitie, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian bloud; whose effusions run in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacie, which was with patient shedding of their own bloud, not violent drawing other mens: Sure, there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousnesse, of Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move me with, by their many solemn obtestations, and pious threanings, but onely this; To represent to Me the wonderfull necessitie of setting up their Presbyterie in *England*, to avoid the futther miseries of a War; which some men chiefly on this designe at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schismes, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength, and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their waies by the like methods of violence? all which Presbyterie seeks to

ſuppreſſe and render odious under thoſe names; when wiſe and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schiſme, and Sectariſme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and ſtill moſt Univerſall way of the Church-government, and ſpecially as to the particular Laws and Conſtitutions of this *Engliſh* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for Me, till I ſee more Rationall and Religious motives, then Souldiers uſe to carry in their Knapſacks.

But we muſt leave the ſucceſſe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our paſsion) to teach us thoſe rules of true Reaſon, and peaceable Wiſdome which is from above, tending moſt to Gods glory, and his Churches good; which I think my Self ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend, with the moſt judicious zeal and care, by how much I eſteem the Church above the State, the glory of Chriſt above mine Own; and the ſalvation of mens Souls, above the preſervation of their Bodies and Eſtates.

Nor may any men, I think, without ſin and preſumption, forcibly endeavour to caſt the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and faſhioned to their deſignes, till they firſt have gained my conſent,

conſent, and reſolved both mine Own and other mens Conſciences by the ſtrength of thei Reaſons.

Other violent motions, which are neithe. Manly, Chriſtian, nor Loyall, ſhall never either ſhake or ſettle my Religion; nor any mans elſe, who knows what Religion means: And how far it is removed from all Faction, whoſe proper engine is force; the arbitratour of Beaſts, not of reaſonable men, much leſſe of humble Chriſtians, and loyall Subjects in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have ſuch high conceits of themſelves, that they care not what coſt they lay out upon their opinions; eſpecially thoſe that have ſome temptations of gain, to recompence their loſſes and hazards.

Yet I was not more ſcandalized at the *Scots* Armies coming in againſt my will, and their forfeiture of ſo many obligations of duty and gratitude to Me; then I wondred how thoſe here, could ſo much diſtruſt Gods aſsiſtance; who ſo much pretended Gods cauſe to the People, as if they had the certainty of ſome Divine Revelation, conſidering they were more then competently furniſhed with my Subjects Arms and Ammunition; my Navie by ſea, my Forts, Caſtles, and Cities by land.

But I find, that men jealous of the juſt fiab'e-

neſſe of their doings and deſignes before God, never think they have humane ſtrength enough to carry their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People; what cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancie that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come into their aſsiſtance; others of them ſoon after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to rivet to a ſettled neſſe by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk Government, and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargeable, more then charitable aſsiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happineſſe of Reformed government and diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendome for their advice, in a full and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſettled, might be more ſatisfactorie to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods juſtice, and mans folly will at length be diſcovered, through all the films and pretenſions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their deſignes: In vain do men

men hope to build their piety on the ruins of loyalty. Nor can those confederations or designes be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But as my best Subjects of *Scotland*, never deserted Me, so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from Me, in a prodigalitie of their love and respects toward Me, as to make Me to despair of their return; when besides the bonds of Nature and Conscience, which they have to Me, all Reason and true policy will teach them, that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their serviceablenesse to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My Safetie and Honour for their own advantages: However, the lesse cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply My Self to God.

The troubles of My Soul are enlarged; O Lord, bring thou Me out of my distresse.

Lord, direct thy Servant in the wayes of that pious simplicity, which is the best policie.

Deliver Me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the Serpents subtiltie, that they forget the Doves innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail against my Soul, to the betraying of my Conscience and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah *and* Israel, *to restore* David *with as much loyal zeal, as they did with inconstancy and eagernesse pursue him.*

Preserve the love of thy Truth and uprightnesse in Me, and I shall not despair of my Subjects affections returning towards Me.

Thou canst soon cause the over flowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bound; which thou hast appointed for them.

O My God, I trust in Thee; let me not be ashamed, let not mine enemies triumph over Me.

Let them be ashamed who transgresse without a cause; let them be turned back that persecute my soul.

Let integrity and uprightnesse preserve Me, for I wait on Thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its troubles.

14. *Vpon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their souls to them, by a Solemne League and Covenant:

Where many engins of religious and fair pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or raise Episcopacy; This they make the grand evil Spi-

rit,

rit, which, with ſome other Imps purpoſely added, to make it more odious and terrible to the vulgar, muſt by ſo ſolemn a charm and exorciſme, be caſt out of this Church, after more then a thouſand years poſſeſsion here, from the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity in this Iſland, and an univerſall preſcription of time and practiſe in all other Churches ſince the Apoſtles times, till this laſt Century.

But no Antiquitie muſt plead for it, Presbyterie, like a young Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Biſhops Chair and Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all art is uſed to ſink Epiſcopacy, and lanch Presbyterie in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland*, by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unſatisfied with many paſſages in that Covenant (ſome referring to my Self with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the deſigne and drift touching the Diſcipline and Government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carrying them on to new wayes, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no leſſe, then ſwearing for, or againſt thoſe things, which are of no clear morall neceſsity; but very diſputable and controverted among learned and godly men, whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be

made and enjoyned with that judgement and certainty in ones ſelf, or that charitie and candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuſes fair and equable deliberations; yea, and diſſentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People, muſt needs (in things doubtfull) be dangerous; as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no leſſe ſuperfluous, where former religious and legall engagements, bound men ſufficiently to all neceſſary duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Proteſtation which was ſo lately taken, to maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*; ſince they count Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never think they have laid ſnares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulitie: for by ſuch politick and ſeemingly pious ſtratagems, they think to keep the populacie faſt to their Parties under the terrour of perjury. Whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſemen, ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws to God and man.

Nor can ſuch after-Contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few men in a declared Partie, without my conſent, and without any like power

power or preſident from Gods or mans laws, be ever thought by judicious men, ſufficient either to abſolve or ſlacken thoſe morall and eternall bonds of duty, which lie upon all my Subjects conſciences both to God and Me.

Yet as things now ſtand, good men ſhall leaſt offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honeſt and lawfull wayes, ſince I have the charitie to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in ſuch mens intentions, was, to preſerve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then ſuch ends and means they cannot think themſelves engaged; nor will thoſe that have any true touches of Conſcience endeavour to carry on the beſt deſignes, (much leſſe ſuch as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawfull means, under that title of the Covenant: unleſſe they dare preferre ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized novelties, before their known and ſworn duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and My ſelf.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgement, That ſuch later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings, and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of ſolemn Leagues and Covenants more to be

be ſuſpected, is, That they are the common road, uſed in all factions and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: Where formalities of extraordinary zeal and pietie are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion, and Laws, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſenſible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practice, to comply with the humours of thoſe men, who aim to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Conſciences no longer, then force attends and twiſts them: for every man ſoon grows his own Pope, & eaſily abſolves himſelf of thoſe ties, which, not the commands of Gods word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the ſubtilty and terrour of a party caſts upon him; either ſuperfluous and vain, when they were ſufficiently tied before, or fraudulent and injurious, if by ſuch after ligaments they find the Impoſers really aiming to diſſolve, or ſuſpend their former juſt, and neceſſary obligations.

Indeed, ſuch illegall wayes ſeldome, or never, intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Deſigne intended.

I ſee the Impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and reliſh, who will but ſwallow it: They admit any mens ſenſes of it, though diverſe or contrary, with any ſalvoes, cautions, and reſervations, ſo as they croſſe not the chief Deſigne which is laid againſt the Church, and Me.

It is enough, if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming increaſe to their Party: So little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſe, I believe many that love Me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not ſo fondly and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now to act clearly againſt both all pietie and loyaltie: who firſt yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in caſe they wholly refuſed it, then for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of ſome generall Clauſes may (perhaps) ſerve ſomewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may*, in *their Places and Callings*; and, *according to the Word of God*: for, theſe (indeed) carrie no man beyond thoſe bounds of good Conſcience which are certain and fixed, either in Gods Laws, as to the generall; or the Laws of the State and Kingdome, as to the particular

ticular regulation and exerciſe of mens duties.

I would to God, ſuch as glory moſt in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themſelves within thoſe lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the beſt way to expiate the raſhneſſe of taking it: which muſt needs then appear, when beſides the want of a full and lawfull Authoritie at firſt to enjoyn it, it ſhall actually be carried on beyond and againſt thoſe ends which were in it ſpecified and pretended. I willingly forgive ſuch mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within ſuch bounds of Pietie, Law, and Loyaltie, as can never hurt either the Church, My ſelf, or the Publick Peace: Againſt which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it juſt or comely, that by the partiall advice of a few Divines, (of ſo ſoft and ſervile tempers, as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgements, profeſsion, and practice) ſuch foul ſcandals and ſuſpicions ſhould be caſt upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deſerved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whoſe judgements I cannot but preferre before any mens now factiouſly engaged.

No

No man can be more forward then my ſelf to carrie on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartiall advice) be, by Gods Word, and right reaſon, convinced to be amiſſe. I have offered more then ever the fulleſt, freeſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequele of ſome mens actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended, is the abaſing of Epiſcopacie into Presbyterie, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriouſly uſed, as to their legall Rights, then the Biſhops, and Church-men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Dear, muſt be deſtroyed; the other Raſcal-herd of Schiſmes, Hereſies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboths* Vineyard made him the onely blaſphemer of his Citie, and fit to die. Still I ſee, while the breath of Religion fills the Sails, Profit is the Compaſſe, by which Factious men ſteer their courſe in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man lay more open to the ſacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can rivert onely to the Crown with my Conſent) ſo I have alwayes had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soul, that I never found the leaſt

leaſt inclination to ſuch ſacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops, and all Church-men ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerve and uſe, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predeceſſours hath given to God and the Church, but all other addition of Chriſtian bountie.

But no neceſsitie ſhall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or ſell the Prieſts Lands, which both *Pharaohs* divinitie, and *Joſephs* true piety abhorred to do: So unjuſt I think it both in the eye of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred employment of all due incouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and increaſe the Task; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done, to the red ſea of a Civil Warre, where nothing but a miracle can ſave either It, or Him, who eſteems it His greateſt Title to be called, and His chiefeſt glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its juſt fruitions; equally abhorring Sacriledge, and Apoſtacy.*

I had rather live as my Predeceſſour *Henry* 3. ſometime did, on the Churches Alms, then violently to take the bread out of Biſhops and Miniſters mouthes.

The next work will be *Jeroboams* reformation, conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe golden Calves who

who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimonie and Dowrie; which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts, and People, is well enough known: And ſo it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall be at their allowance, who have already diſcovered, what hard Fathers aud Stepmothers they will be.

If the povertie of *Scotland* might, yet the plentie of *England*, cannot excuſe the envie and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent thoſe ſad conſequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Miniſters, both in Church and State; ſince I think it no leſſe then a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs, whoſe occaſions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans ſin not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

There are wayes enough to repair the breaches of the State, without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not be an Oppreſſour of the other, under the pretence of Publick Debts: The occaſions contracting them were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them would be much worſe; I pray God, neither I nor Mine, may be acceſſary to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I addresse My prayer, beseeching Thee to pardon the rashnesse of My Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, morall, and indispensable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this Kingdome have laid upon their Consciences; From which no pretensions of Piety and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge under the Zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designes to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posterity, of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are exhausted, My Revenues diminished, and My Debts encreased; yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience, as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publick, which

which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in times where the Charitie of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberall.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the justice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve & use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poor: That thy Priests may be clothed with righteousnesse, and the poor may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, gryn like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor theirs: Let them be as Naboth's vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouths, rottennesse to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues, who have bandied together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of Thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

15. *Upon the many Iealouſies raiſed, and Scandals caſt upon the King, to ſtirre up the People againſt him.*

IF I had not Mine own Innocencie, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to ſtand out againſt thoſe ſtratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falſities ſeek to oppreſſe the Truth; and by Jealouſies to ſupply the defect of Reall cauſes, which might ſeem to juſtifie ſo unjuſt engagements againſt Me.

¶ And indeed, the worſt effects of open hoſtilitie, come ſhort of theſe deſignes: For, I can more willingly loſe my Crowns, then my Credit; nor are my Kingdoms ſo dear to Me, as my Reputation and Honour.

Thoſe muſt have a period with my life, but theſe may ſurvive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good Name being the embalming of Princes, and a ſweet conſecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Poſterity.

Thoſe ſoul and falſe aſperſions were ſecret engins at firſt employed againſt My peoples love of Me; that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyaltie.

Wherein

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of my Honour is not ſo afflictive to Me, as the ſinne and danger of my peoples ſouls, whoſe eyes once blinded with ſuch myſts of ſuſpicions, they are ſoon miſled into the moſt deſperate precipices of actions: wherein they do not onely not conſider their ſinne and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them ſo fit to be deſtroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Deſtroyers; Imagining they then fear God moſt, when they leaſt honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but my pity was above my anger; nor have my paſsions ever ſo prevailed againſt Me, as to exclude my moſt compaſsionate prayers for them, whom devout errours, more then their own malice, have betrayed to a moſt religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that moſt part of my Subjects, fought againſt my ſuppoſed Errours, not my Perſon; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope, that God pardoning their Errours, hath ſo farre accepted and anſwered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preſerved Me, ſo he hath by theſe afflictions prepared Me, both to do him better ſervice, and my People more good, then hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their ſeductions, which occaſioned their loyall injuries, then I

am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjuſt ſuſpicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conſcious to mine own Affections toward the generality of my people, to ſuſpect theirs to Me; nor ſhall the malice of mine enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me: I ſhall never gratifie the ſpightfulneſſe of a few, with any ſiniſter thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have ſeduced.

The worſt ſome mens ambition can do, ſhall never perſwade Me, to make ſo bad interpretations of moſt of My Subjects actions; who poſſibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyaltie.

The ſenſe of the injuries done to My Subjects is as ſharp, as thoſe done to My Self; our welfares being inſeparable; in this onely they ſuffer more then My Self, that they are animated by ſome ſeducers, to injure at once both themſelves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My enemies, that I be afflicted; but it muſt be done by ſuch inſtruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more then this doth, that I am afflicted by thoſe, whoſe proſperity I earneſtly deſire, and whoſe ſeduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been mine open and forrein enemies

mies, I could have born it; but they muſt be my own Subjects, who are next to my Children, dear to Me: And for the reſtoring of whoſe tranquilitie, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; if I did not evidently foreſee, that by the divided Intereſts of their and mine enemies, as by contrary winds, the ſtorm of their miſeries would be rather encreaſed then allayed.

I had rather prevent my Peoples ruine, then rule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion which is but my Right, as of their happineſſe; if it could expiate, or countervail ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt injuries of Subjects committed againſt their Sovereign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and die many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert, or diſhonourably to betray mine own juſt Rights and Sovereignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or juſtifie the malice of mine enemies; between whoſe malice, and other mens miſtakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelrie, and the Leproſie of Diſloyalty.

As Liars need have good memories, ſo Malicious perſons need good inventions; that thei calumnies may fit every mans fancie; and what their reproches want of truth, they may make up with number and ſhew.

My patience (I thank God) will better ſerve Me to bear, and my charity to forgive, then my leiſure to anſwer the many falſe aſperſions which ſome men have caſt upon Me.

Did I not more conſider my Subjects ſatisfaction, then mine own Vindication, I ſhould never have given the malice of ſome men that pleaſure, as to ſee Me take notice of, or remember what they ſay, or object.

I would leave the Authours to be puniſhed by their own evil manners, and ſeared Conſciences, which will, I believe, in a ſhorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all thoſe black and falſe Scandals, which they have caſt on Me: And make the world ſee, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civilitie (I need not ſay loyaltie) in the not ſuppreſsing of them; whole credit and reputation, even with the people, ſhall ere long be quite blaſted, by the breath of that ſame fornace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have ſtudied to heat and inflame to the higheſt degree of infamie, and wherein they have ſought to caſt and conſume my Name and Honour.

Firſt, nothing gave Me more cauſe to ſuſpect, and ſearch my own Innocency; then when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt Me, who had made great profeſsions of ſingular pie-

tie:

tie: For this gave to vulgar minds ſo bad reflecti-on upon Me, and my cauſe, as if it had been im-poſsible to adhere to Me, and not withall de-part from God; to think or ſpeak well of Me, and not to blaſpheme Him; ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of my ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with Me, then forſake Me.

Nor is it ſtrange that ſo religious Pretenſions as were uſed againſt Me, ſhould be to many wel-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe Me: Eſpecially, being urged by ſuch popular Preach-ers, as think it no ſinne to lie for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſſe of the end pro-pounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſſe of the means uſed, nor the depth of the miſchief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſſe of theſe mens judgements, muſt be made up by their clamours and acti-vitie.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion, to ſcandalize Me and mine; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the conſtancy of my Religion in the Proteſtant profeſsion of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception, I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſſe in that Religion, whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture and Antiquitie, will not give my Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon Me, and my People.

Contrary to thoſe well-tried foundations both of Truth and Order, which men of farre greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have ſettled in the Confeſsion and Conſtitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments in the moſt calm and unpaſsionate times, have oft confirmed: In which I ſhall ever, by Gods help, perſevere, as believing it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did my uſing the aſsiſtance of ſome Papiſts, which were my Subjects, any way fight againſt my Religion, as ſome men would needs inter-

interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they employed, or what they said, and did, so they might prevail.

Tis strange, that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, That differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameness of duty, Allegiance, and subjection. The first they own as men, and Christians to God; the second, they ow to Me in Common, as their KING; different professions in point of Religion cannot (any more then in civil Trades) take away the communitie of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an *Oglio*, or medley of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service, (who find most fault with Me) without any scruple, as to the diversitie of their Sects and Opinions?

It was indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to enforce Me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did but their dutie to help Me to defend My Self.

Nor did I more then is lawfull for any King, in such exigents, to use the aid of any his Subjects.

I am sorrie the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, then many Protestant Professours; who seem to have learned, and to practise

ctiſe the worſt Principles of the worſt Papiſts.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unſeaſonable ſcruple in Me, (and very pleaſing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then diſputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects, when I was diſputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no leſſe then their prayers as Chriſtians.

The noiſe of My Evil Counſellours was another uſefull device for thoſe, who were impatient any mens counſels but their own ſhould be followed in Church or State; who were ſo eager in giving Me better counſell, that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedome, as a Man, or honour, as a King; making their counſels more like a drench that muſt be poured down, then a draught which might be fairly and leiſurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not juſtifie beyond humane errours and frailties My Self, or My Counſellours: They might be ſubject to ſome miſcarriages, yet ſuch as were farre more reparable by ſecond and better thoughts, then thoſe enormous extravagancies, wherewith ſome men have now even wildred, and almoſt quite loſt both Church and State.

The event of things at laſt will make it evident to my Subjects, that had I followed the worſt

worſt Counſels, that My worſt Counſellours ever had the boldneſſe to offer to Me, or My Self any inclination to uſe; I could not ſo ſoon have brought both Church and State in three flouriſhing Kingdomes, to ſuch a *Chaos* of confuſions and Hell of miſeries, as ſome have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midſt of their many great advantages, redeem either Me or my Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, then I was to redreſſe what I ſaw in Reaſon was either done or adviſed amiſſe; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were ſorrie to ſee Me prone even to injure my Self, out of a Zeal to relieve my Subjects.

But other mens inſatiable deſire of revenge upon Me, my Court, and my Clergie, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all my either Retractations or Conceſſions; and withall, hath deprived all thoſe (now ſo zealous Perſecutours) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloried among the vulgar, and which indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not to be relieved, then be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crown of Chriſtian patience, which attends humble and injured ſufferers.

Another

Another artifice uſed to withdraw my peoples affections from Me to their deſignes, was the noiſe and oſtentation of libertie, which men are not more prone to deſire, then unapt to bear in the popular ſenſe, which is, To do what every man liketh beſt.

If the Divineſt libertie be to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will according to Reaſon, Laws, and Religion; I envie not my Subjects that libertie, which is all I deſire to enjoy my Self; So farre am I from the deſire of oppreſsing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſsiſted Me, ſo prodigall of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enſlaving of themſelves & their poſterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitious and covetous deſignes over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedomes then the Laws allow, whoſe bounds good man count their Ornament and protection, others theirs Manacles and Oppreſsion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth his rule and direction, loſing juſtly his ſafety while he ſeeks an unreaſonable libertie.

Time will beſt inform my Subjects that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true liberties, who

who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſneſſe againſt or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſsible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow-ſubjects liberties, who have the hardineſſe to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints, againſt all Laws both Divine and Humane: under which, yet, I will rather periſh, then complain to thoſe, who want nothing to complete their mirth and triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſcientious tenderneſſe (attended with humilitie and meekneſſe, not with proud and arrogant activitie, which ſeeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſme) I have oft declared, how little I deſire my Lavvs and Sceptre ſhould intrench on Gods Sovereigntie, which is the onely King of mens Conſciences; and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake, giving no men libertie to break the Law eſtabliſhed; further then with meekneſſe and patience, they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publick Peace.

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Novelties, others deſpair to relieve the neceſsities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the ſecret (but principall) impulſives

impulsives to these popular Commotions; by which Subjects have been perswaded to expend much of those plentifull Estates they got, and enjoyed under My Government; in peaceable times; which yet must now be blasted with all the odious reproches; which impudent malice can invent; and My self exposed to all those contempts, which may most diminish the Majestie of a King, and increase the ungratefull insolencies of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well assured, that as mine Innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; so My reputation shall like the Sun (after Owls and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendour, as those ferall birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, then those whom God hath suffered to be tried in the fornace of afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the just and mercifull God will do me good, for some mens hard, false, and evil speeches against Me; wherein they speak rather what they wish, then what they believe, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honour, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and

and down to ſet all places on like flames) as thoſe men do, who pretending to ſo much pietie, are ſo forgetfull of their dutie to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majeſtie of their KING againſt any of thoſe, who contrary to the precept of God, and preſident of Angels, *ſpeak evil of dignities, and bring railing accuſations againſt thoſe*, who are honoured with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing GOD, ſhould not Honour their KING.

They will eaſily contemn ſuch ſhadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majeſty, in compariſon of whom all the glorie of Men and Angels is but obſcuritie; yet hath he graven ſuch Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may without ſin ſeek to blot them out. Nor ſhall their black veils be able to hide the ſhining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone are all the irradiations of true glory and Majeſtie.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt My reproch, and My diſhonour, My Adverſaries are all before Thee.

My Soul is among Lions, among them that are ſet on fire, even the Sons of Men; whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows; their tongue a ſharp ſword.

Mine enemies reproch Me all the day long, and thoſe that are mad againſt Me are ſworn together.

O My God, how long ſhall the ſonnes of men turn My glory into ſhame? how long ſhall they love vanity, and ſeek after lies?

Thou haſt heard the reproches of wicked men on every ſide. Hold not thy peace, leſt My Enemies prevail againſt Me, and lay mine Honour in the duſt.

Thou, O Lord, ſhalt deſtroy them that ſpeak lies; The Lord will abhor both the bloud-thirſty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteouſneſſe to appear as the light, and mine innocency to ſhine forth as the Sun at noon day.

Suffer not my ſilence to betray mine innocence, nor my diſpleaſure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being curſed by them, I may bleſſe them.

Thou that wouldſt not ſuffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpuniſhed; when by thy judgements on* David, *he might ſeem to juſtifie his diſdainfull reproches, give Me grace to intercede with thy mercy for theſe my enemies, that the reward of falſe and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.*

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already ſet on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with thoſe malicious flames.

Let Me be happy to refute, and put to ſilence their evil-ſpeaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruits of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids *patience and* Hezekiahs *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and ſee thy juſtice in their ſin.* Let

Let Sheba's *ſeditious ſpeeches,* Rabſhekahs *rayling, and* Shimei's *curſing, provoke, as my humble prayer to Thee, ſo thy renewed bleſsing toward Me.*

Though they curſe, do Thou bleſſe, and I ſhall be bleſſed, and made a bleſsing to my People:

That the ſtone, which ſome builders refuſe, may become the head ſtone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and ſave Me from the reproch of them that would ſwallow Me up.

Hide Me in the ſecret of thy preſence, from the pride of man, and keep Me from the ſtrife of tongues.

16. *Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common-Prayer-Book.*

IT is no news, to have all Innovations uſhered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by thoſe, who ſeeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts and piety, muſt needs undo whatever was formerly ſettled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelties, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſdome or godlineſſe.

And becauſe matter of prayer and devotion to God, juſtly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converſe with the Divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the People, then to tell them, They ſerved God amiſſe in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgie, or Forms of conſtant Prayers, muſt be (not amended, in what upon free and publick advice might ſeem to ſober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly caſhiered, and aboliſhed, and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and thoſe that uſed it according to their Conſciences, and the Laws in force, it muſt be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to pleaſe either thoſe men, who gloried in their extemporary vein and fluencie; or others, who conſcious to their own formality in the uſe of it, thought they fully expiated their ſinne of not uſing it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuſe the deadnes of their hearts

As for the matter contained in the Book, ſober and learned men have ſufficiently vindicated it againſt the cavils and exceptions of thoſe, who thought it a part of piety, to make what profane objections they could againſt it, eſpecially for Popery and Superſtition; whereas, no doubt, the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches, is confeſſed to be moſt ſound and Orthodox.

For the manner of uſing ſet and preſcribed Forms, there is no doubt, but that wholſome words being known and fitted to mens underſtand-

ſtandings, are ſooneſt received into their hearts, and apteſt to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I ſee any reaſon why Chriſtians ſhould be weary of a wel-compoſed Liturgie (as I hold this to be) more then of all other things, wherein the Conſtancie abates nothing of the excellencie and uſefulneſſe.

I could never ſee any Reaſon, why any Chriſtian ſhould abhor, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame Forms of Prayer, ſince he prayes to the ſame God, believes in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame Truths, reads the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feels the ſame daily wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure, we may as well beforehand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? Our appetite and digeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I hear, are ſo impatient, not to uſe in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not onely diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall pattern of all ſet Liturgies in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expreſsions, in Publick prayer, or any ſacred adminiſtrations, merits a greater brand of ſinne, then that which they call Coldneſſe and Barrenneſſe: Nor are men in thoſe novelties leſſe ſubject to formall and ſuperficiall tempers, (as to their hearts) then in the uſe of conſtant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt, but a man may be very formall in the moſt extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the moſt wonted expreſsions: Nor is God more a God of variety, then of conſtancy: Nor are conſtant Forms of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer and devotion, then unpremeditated and confuſed variety to diſtract and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave, modeſt, diſcreet, and humble uſe of Miniſters gifts, even in publick, the better to fit, and excite their own, and the Peoples affections to the preſent occaſions; yet I know no neceſsity why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men, ſuch as the Compoſers of the Service-Book were who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compoſe with

with ſerious deliberation and concurrent advice, ſuch Forms of Prayers, as may beſt fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers underſtanding, and ſtirre up that fiduciary and fervent application of their ſpirits, (wherein conſiſts the very life and ſoul of prayer, and that ſo much pretended Spirit of Prayer,) then any private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſſe, impertinency, rudeneſſe, confuſions, flatneſſe, levity, obſcurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſeleſſe and oft-times blaſphemous expreſsions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way,

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, and flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo ridiculous, and indeed profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſame; Miniſtets muſt either come to uſe their own Forms conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duties, as Forms of Publick compoſure; or elſe the-

muſt every time affect new expreſsions when the ſubject is the ſame; which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencies, not to want (many times) much of that compleatneſſe, order, and gravitie becoming thoſe duties; which by this means are expoſed at every celebration to every Miniſters private infirmities, indiſpoſitions, errours, diſorders, and defects, both for judgement and expreſsion.

A ſerious ſenſe of which inconveniences in the Church, unavoidably following every mans ſeverall manner of officiating, no doubt, first occaſioned the wiſdome and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy thoſe miſchiefs, by the uſe of constant Liturgies of Publick compoſure.

The want of which, I believe, this Church will ſufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens ungoverned ignorance, and confident defects, ſhall be diſcovered in more errours, ſchiſmes, diſorders, and uncharitable diſtractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

However, if violence muſt needs bring in, and abett thoſe Innovations (that men may not ſeem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reaſon, and Religion forbids, at leaſt to be ſo obtruded, as wholly to juſtle out the Publick Liturgie:

Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partiall ſeveritie of thoſe men, who either lately had

had ſubſcribed to, uſed, and mainteined the Service-book; or refuſing to uſe it, cried out of the rigour of the Laws, and Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the liberty of their Conſciences, in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Liturgie into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſsions; or as if matter preſcribed, did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were clothed in, and confined to fit words: (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain, which will ſerve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity, as not to ſuffer without penaltie, any to uſe the Common-prayer book publickly, although their Conſciences bind them to it, as a duty of Pietie to God, and Obedience to the Laws.

Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exactors upon others, to conform to their illegall novelties; then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawfull Conſtitutions, and whoſe licentious humours moſt pretended Conſcientious liberties: which freedome with much regret they now allow to Me, and my Chaplains, when they may have leave to ſerve Me, whoſe abilities even in their extemporary way, comes not ſhort of the others; but their modeſty and learning far exceeds the moſt of them. But

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned and ſober debates, leaſt being convinced by the evidence of Reaſon, as well as Laws, they ſhould have been driven either to ſin more againſt their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgie; or to diſpleaſe ſome Faction of the people, by continuing the uſe of it.

Though I believe they have offended more conſiderable men, not onely for their numbers and eſtates; bur for their weighty and judicious piety, then thoſe are, whoſe weakneſſe or giddineſſe they ſought to gratifie, by taking it away.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found with the Common-Prayer Book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray ſo oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyaltie enough to ſay *Amen*, nor yet Charitie enough to forbear Reproches, and even curſings of Me in their own forms, in ſtead of praying for Me.

I wiſh their Repentance may be their onely puniſhment, that ſeeing the miſchiefs which the diſuſe of publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to ſet Forms of ſound and wholſome words.

BODLEIANA BIBLIOTHECA

And

And Thou, O Lord, which art the ſame God, bleſſed for ever: whoſe mercies are full of variety, and yet of conſtancy; Thou denieſt us not a new and freſh ſenſe of our old and dayly wants; nor deſpiſeſt renewed affections joyned to conſtant expreſsions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and well-adviſed Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwayes the ſame, and the fervency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holy Spirits in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy ſpirituall perfections are ſuch, as thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious conſtancy of our Petitions in them both.

Whoſe varietie or conſtancie thou haſt no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the pietie and prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion, that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others, of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe, to help their infirmities.

And ſince the advantage of Errour conſiſts in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and conſtancy: Suffer not thy Church to be peſtered with errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy Service, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order, under this fallacy, That conſtancy is the cauſe of formality.

Lord,

Lord keep us from formall Hypocriſie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praiſing of thee (with David, *and other holy men) in the ſame forms cannot hurt us.*

Give us wiſdome to amend what is amiſſe within us, and there will be leſſe to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind zeal, and over-bold devotion.

17. *Of the differences between the King and the two Houſes, in point of Church-government.*

TOuching the Government of the Church by Biſhops, the common Jealouſie hath been, that I am earneſt and reſolute to maintain it, not ſo much out of pietie, as policie, and reaſon of State.

Wherein ſo farre indeed reaſon of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it impoſsible for a Prince to preſerve the State in quiet, unleſſe he hath ſuch an influence upon Church-men; and they ſuch a dependence on Him, as may beſt reſtrain the ſeditious exorbitancies of Miniſters tongues; who with the Keys of Heaven have ſo farre the Keys of the Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratorie to let in, and ſhut out, both Peace and Loyaltie.

So

So that (I being as KING) intrusted by God, and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State, I see no reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspicion, that I encline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his conscience.

I must now in Charitie be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion, wherein both my judgement is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture-grounds, and also the constant practice of all Christian Churches, till of late years the tumultuarinesse of People, or the factiousnesse and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousnesse of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and propose them under specious titles, of *Christs Government, Sceptre, and Kingdome*; the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They must give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government

vernment of Biſhops, (that I may have a title to their Eſtates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new wayes, contrary to the full and conſtant teſtimony of all Hiſtories, ſufficiently convincing unbiaſed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apoſtles, and their immediate Succeſſours, the firſt and beſt Biſhops; ſo it cannot in reaſon or charitie be ſuppoſed, that all Churches in the world ſhould either be ignorant of the rule by them preſcribed, or ſo ſoon deviate from their divine and holy pattern: That ſince the firſt Age, for 1500 years not one example can be produced of any ſettled Church, wherein were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhop above them, under whoſe juriſdiction and government they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſall practiſe agreeing with ſo large and evident Scripture-directions and examples, as are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the ſettling of that Government, not in the perſons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſsion; (the want of Government being that which the Church can no more diſpenſe w^th^, in point of wel-being, then the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of being:)

I wonder how men came to look with ſo envious an eye upon Biſhops power and authoritie, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſticall uſe of them,

them, and Apoſtolicall conſtitution: which to Me ſeems no leſſe evidently ſet forth, as to the main ſcope and deſigne of thoſe Epiſtles, for the ſettling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them, as Preſident-Biſhops above others in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other Acts of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline; then thoſe ſhorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Biſhops, and Deacons, are deſcribed in ſome parts of the ſame Epiſtles; who in the latitude and communitie of the name, were then, and may not now improperly be called *Biſhops*, as to the overſight and care of ſingle Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or thoſe Apostolicall Biſhops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) ſucceeded them in that ordinary power there aſſigned over larger diviſions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humilitie of thoſe first Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Churches ſtyle appropriated from its common notion (*of a Meſſenger*, or *one ſent*,) to that ſpeciall dignity which had extraordinary call, miſsion, gifts, and power immediately from Christ: they contented themſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Presbyters, untill uſe, (the great arbitratour of words, and master of language) finding reaſon to distinguiſh by a peculiar name thoſe perſons, whoſe power and office were indeed

indeed distinct from and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary & constant power of governing the Churches, the honour of (whose name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Christian Churches (submitting to that speciall authoritie) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without any suspicion or reproch of arrogancie to those, who were by Apostolicall propagation rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power of governing, even the most pure Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whose speciall power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopall claim, as from Divine right) then are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such; who not enduring sound Doctrine, and clear Testimonies of all Churches practice, are most perverse Disputers, and proud Usurpers against true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traitours and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of godlinesse.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to over-lay and smother the pregnancie and authoritie of that power of Epis-

Epiſcopall Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacie of names, is moſt convincingly ſet forth, both by Scripture, and all after-Hiſtories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, then a Prince, that Poſteritie may ſee (if ever theſe papers be publick) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture, Canons, and Eccleſiasticall examples, whereon My judgement was ſtated for Epiſcopall Government.

Nor was it any policie of State, or obſtinacie of will, or partialitie of affection, either to men, or their Function which fixed Me; who cannot in point of worldly reſpects be ſo conſiderable to Me, as to recompence the injuries and loſſes, I, and my deareſt relations with my Kingdoms, have ſuſtained and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this quarrell.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches Univerſall practice the beſt commentarie; but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Ministers, ſhould be any more againſt Christianitie, then it is in all ſecular and civil Governments, where paritie breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features

are

are with beauty, or numbers with harmonie.

Nor is it likely, that God, who appointed ſeverall orders, and a Prelacie in the Government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhorre or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the principles of ſchiſme and diviſion as other men: for preventing and ſuppreſsing of which, the Apoſtolicall wiſdome, (which was Divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might beſt preſerve order and union with Authoritie.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wiſdome and pietie of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſettled Biſhops in the Church; which Authority they conſtantly uſed, and enjoyed in thoſe times, which were pureſt for Religion, though ſharpeſt for Perſecution.

Not that I am againſt the managing of this Preſidencie and Authoritie in one man, by the joynt Counſell and conſent of many Presbyters: I have offered to reſtore that, as a fit means to avoid thoſe Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man: Alſo to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Chriſtians, leaſt of all Churchmen; beſides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and *odium* of affairs,

of affairs, which may lie too heavie on one mans ſhoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Biſhops here.

Nor can I ſee what can be more agreeable both to Reaſon and Religion, then ſuch a frame of Government which is paternall, not Magiſteriall, and wherein not onely the neceſsitie of avoiding Faction and Confuſion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to ariſe among equals in power and function, but alſo the differences of ſome Miniſters gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to thoſe abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgement of mine touching Epiſcopacy, any pre occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppoſitions againſt it: It is well known I have endeavoured to ſatisfie My Self in what the chief Patrons for other wayes can ſay againſt this, or for theirs: And I find they have, as farre leſſe of Scripture-grounds, and of Reaſon; ſo for examples and practiſe of the Church, or teſtimonies of Hiſtories, they are wholly deſtitute, wherein the whole ſtream runs ſo for Epiſcopacy, that there is not the leaſt rivulet for any others.

As for thoſe obtruded examples of ſome late reformed Churches, (for many retain Biſhops ſtill) whom neceſsitie of times and affairs ra-

ther excuſeth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity: I could never ſee any reaſon why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Biſhops, ſhould be forced to conform to thoſe few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to thoſe Churches at this day, who governed by Biſhops in all the Chriſtian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be: All whom the Churches in my three Kingdoms, lately governed by Biſhops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wiſdome or charity, where Chriſtians differ, (as many do in ſome points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Chriſtian world (except a handfull of ſome Proteſtants) ſo great a ſcandall in point of Church-government; whom, though you may convince of their errours in ſome points of Doctrine, yet you ſhall never perſwade them, that to complete their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government, which they, and all before them, have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apoſtolicall: So farre, that never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks (except thoſe Aierians) have ſtrayed from the Unity and Conformity of the Church in that point, ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides,

Beſides, the late generall approbation and ſubmiſsion to this Government of Biſhops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of theſe Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of my Judgement; and their inconſtancy is a great prejudice againſt their noveltie. I cannot in charity ſo farre doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did; or that they did conform contrary to their conſciences: So that their facility and levity is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartiall debate, contrary to their former oaths and practiſe, againſt their obedience to the Laws in force, and againſt my conſent, have not onely quite cried down the Government by Biſhops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and moſt illegall ſtripping all the Biſhops, and many other Churchmen, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the ſelling away, and utter alienation of thoſe Church-lands from any Eccleſiaſticall uſes. So great a power hath the ſtream of times, and the prevalency of parties over ſome mens judgements; of whoſe ſo ſudden and ſo totall change, little reaſon can be given, beſides the *Scots* Armie coming into *England*.

But the folly of theſe men will at laſt puniſh it ſelf, and the Deſertors of Epiſcopacy will appear the greateſt enemies to, and betrayers of

their own intereſt: for Presbyterie is never ſo conſiderable or effecturall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Epiſcopacie. All Miniſters wil find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the People, and of Princes, as plants do between being watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will ſoon let them ſee, what a poor carcaſe they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whoſe Supremacy they have been ſworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great miſchiefs: I am firm to Primitive Epiſcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Diſcretion without Paſsion might eaſily reform, whatever the ruſt of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a groſſe vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or perſons; which ſeditious and popular principle, and practiſe, all wiſemen abhorre.

For thoſe Secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civil Honour, and Eſtate, which my Predeceſſours, and Chriſtian Princes in all Countreys have annexed to Biſhops and Church-men; I look upon them, but as juſt rewards of their learning and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-government; alſo

ena-

enablements to vvorks of Charity, and Hoſpitality, meet ſtrengthenings of their Authority in point of reſpect and obſervance; vvhich in peacefull times is hardly paid to any Governours by the meaſure of their virtues, ſo much, as by that of their eſtates; Poverty and meanneſſe expoſing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds and manners, which perſecuting Times much reſtrained.

I would have ſuch men Biſhops, as are moſt worthy of thoſe incouragements, and beſt able to uſe them: if at any time my judgement of men failed, my good intention made my errour veniall: and ſome Biſhops, I am ſure I had, whoſe learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, eſpecially the Governours, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect; which (beſides an innate principle of vitious oppoſition, which is in all men againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove, or reſtrain them) will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Miniſters equall; and the Independent inferiority, which ſets their Paſtours below the People.

This for my judgement touching Epiſcopacy, wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any deſigne or paſsion with the leaſt perverting of Truth

And now I appeal to God above, and all the

Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeek to force Me their KING and Sovereigne, as ſome men have endeavoured to do, againſt all theſe grounds of my Judgement, to conſent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greateſt pretender of them deſires not more then I do, That the Church ſhould be governed, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture; of which, I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other wayes: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy and ſolitude, when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation in a Citie or Countrey; or elſe they denie theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that Government being neceſſary for the Churches welbeing, when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that power and ſuperiority, they had above others; which could not end with their perſons, ſince the uſe and end of ſuch Government ſtill continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt Primitive and beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy; and may ſo ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition, avarice, revenge,

revenge, and other disorderly, and disloyall passions had not so blown up some mens minds against it, that what they want of Reasons or Primitive Patterns, they supply with violence and oppression; wherein some mens zeal for Bishops Lands, Houses, and Revenues hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacy: which (however other men esteem) to Me is no lesse sinne, then Sacriledge, or a robbery of GOD, (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government, and the rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulnesse of the Function as Antichristian, (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soon, with judgement, break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by Me.

But being daily by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that, to which I am sworn; How can any man that wisheth not my damnation, perswade Me at once to so notorious and combined sins, of sacriledge and perjury? besides the many personall

Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeek to force Me their KING and Sovereigne, as ſome men have endeavoured to do, againſt all theſe grounds of my Judgement, to conſent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greateſt pretender of them deſires not more then I do, That the Church ſhould be governed, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture; of which, I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other wayes: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy and ſolitude, when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation in a Citie or Countrey; or elſe they denie theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that Government being neceſſary for the Churches welbeing, when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that power and ſuperiority, they had above others, which could not end with their perſons, ſince the uſe and end of ſuch Government ſtill continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt Primitive and beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy; and may ſo ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition, avarice, revenge,

revenge, and other diſorderly, and diſloyall paſſions had not ſo blown up ſome mens minds againſt it, that what they want of Reaſons or Primitive Patterns, they ſupply with violence and oppreſsion; wherein ſome mens zeal for Biſhops Lands, Houſes, and Revenues hath ſet them on work to eat up Epiſcopacy: which (however other men eſteem) to Me is no leſſe ſinne, then Sacriledge, or a robbery of GOD, (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelf.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgement, I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve that Government, and the rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulneſſe of the Function as Antichriſtian, (which ſome men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could ſoon, with judgement, break that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by Me.

But being daily by the beſt diſquiſition of truth, more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that, to which I am ſworn; How can any man that wiſheth not my damnation, perſwade Me at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins, of ſacriledge and perjury? beſides the many perſonal

Injuſtices I muſt do to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their eſtates, as any who ſeek to deprive them; and they have by no Law been convicted of thoſe crimes, which might forfeit their eſtates and livelihoods.

I have oft wondred, how men pretending to tenderneſſe of Conſcience and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that my Coronation Oath binds Me to conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Me, (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedome, which every man ought to preſerve, and of which they ſeem ſo tender in their own Votes; yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me, That I muſt, and ought to diſpence with, and roundly break that part of my Oath, which binds Me (agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange my oath ſhould be valid in that part, which both my Self, and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious and unreaſonable, as being againſt the very naturall and eſſential libertie of our ſouls; yet it ſhould be invalid, and to be broken in another clauſe, wherein I think my Self juſtly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſome mens ambitious Covetouſneſſe, and

and sacrilegious Cruelties, torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civil dissentions, till I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I do approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in my Soul abhorre, as many wayes highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion; and whereto if I should shamefully, and dishonourably give my consent, yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests, and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacie.

Nor can my late condescending to the *Scots* in point of Church-government, be rightly objected against Me, as an inducement for Me, to consent to the like in my other Kingdoms. For it should be considered, that Episcopacie was not so rooted and settled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdome, as in this; for what I think in my judgement best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute my yielding to them, as my failing and sinne, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse, I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath my yielding to them been so happie and successefull, as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meek-

Meekneſſe, Juſtice, Order, Charitie, and Loyaltie, in thoſe that pretend to other modes of Government, I might ſuſpect my judgement to be biaſſed, or foreſtalled with ſome prejudice and wontedneſſe of opinion; but I have hitherto ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect the contrary in the manners of many of thoſe men, that I cannot from them gain the leaſt reputation for their new waies of Government.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whoſe patterns are ſo cried up, and obtruded upon the Churches under my Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, works of pietie or Charitie, have ſo flouriſhed beyond what they have done in my Kingdoms (by Gods bleſsing) which might make Me believe either Presbytery, or Independencie have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, then Epiſcopacie in its right conſtitution.

The abuſes of which, deſerve to be extirpated, as much as the uſe retained; for I think it farre better to hold to primitive and uniform Antiquitie, then to complie with divided noveltie.

A right Epiſcopacie would at once ſatisfie all juſt deſires and intereſts of good Biſhops, humble Presbyters, and ſober People; ſo as Church affairs ſhould be managed, neither with Tyranny, paritie, nor popularitie; neither Biſhops ejected, nor Presbyters deſpiſed, nor People oppreſſed.

And

And in this integrity both of my Judgement and Conſcience, I hope God will preſerve Me.

For thou, O Lord, knoweſt my uprightneſſe, and tenderneſſe; as thou haſt ſet Me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protectour of thy Church, ſo ſuffer Me not by any violence, to be overborn againſt my Conſcience.

Ariſe, O Lord, maintain thine own cauſe, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apoſtles, hath been retained in pureſt and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſecular envy; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make Me, as the good Samaritane, compaſſionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed; others paſſe by without regard either to pity, or relieve.

As my power is from Thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for Thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a KING, *yet preſerve Me in that liberty of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.*

Preſerve from ſacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporall bleſsings, which thy providence hath beſtowed on thy Church, for thy glory.

Forgive their ſins and errours, who have deſerved thy juſt permiſsion, thus to let in the wild Boar, and ſubtill Foxes, to waſte and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand

hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven ſo long watered to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let Me not bear the infamous brand to all Poſterity, of being the firſt Chriſtian KING *in this Kingdome, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſſion of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whoſe errours I would rather; with* Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence, and reform with meekneſſe, then expoſe their perſons, and ſacred Functions to vulgar contempt.*

Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt how much I have ſuffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying, O my God, to deliver both Me, and it, from unreaſonable men, whoſe counſells have brought forth and continue ſuch violent confuſions, by a precipitant deſtroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace, thereby letting in all manner of errours, ſchiſmes, and diſorders.

O thou God of order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, aſſwage the rage, and confound all the miſchievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may ſing praiſes to Thee, and ever magnifie thy ſalvation, even before the ſonnes of men.

18. *Upon* Vxbridge-*Treatie, and other offers made by the King.*

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beaſts, to arguing like Men; whoſe ſtrength ſhould be more in their underſtandings, then in their limbs. And

And though I could seldome get opportunities to treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of my Reason, then my Sword: I was so wholly resolved to yield to the first, that I thought neither my Self, nor others should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to prevent them with expresses of my desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanitie, rather to use Reason, then force; but also of Christianitie, to *seek peace and pursue it*.

As I was very unwillingly compelled to defend my Self with Arms, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all Warre by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civil Warre uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any successe I had, ever enhaunce with Me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it then any man: All that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honour, and My Conscience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Christian.

The Treatie at *Uxbridge* gave the faireſt hopes of an happy composure; had others applied themselves

ſelves to it with the ſame moderation as I did, I am confident the Warre had then ended.

I was willing to condeſcend, as farre as Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience would give Me leave; nor were the remaining differences ſo eſſentiall to my Peoples happineſſe, or of ſuch conſequence, as in the leaſt kind to have hindered my Subjects either ſecuritie or proſperitie; for they better enjoyed both many years, before ever thoſe demands were made, ſome of which to denie, I think the greateſt Juſtice to my Self, and favour to my Subjects.

I ſee, Jealouſies are not ſo eaſily allayed, as they are raiſed: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage: what is wanting in equitie, muſt be made up in pertinacie. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to loſe in warre, ſtudied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and ſuſpected.

In Church affairs, where I had leaſt libertie of prudence, having ſo many ſtrict ties of Conſcience upon Me; yet I was willing to condeſcend ſo farre to the ſettling of them, as might have given fair ſatisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetouſnes, or ſuperſtition had not engaged more, then any true zeal, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yield to all that might ſeem to advance true pietie; I onely ſought to continue what was neceſſary in point of Order, Main-

Maintenance and Authoritie to the Churches Government; and what I am perſwaded (as I have elſewhere ſet down My thoughts more fully) is moſt agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtature and perfection, as alſo to the primitive Apoſtolicall pattern, and the practice of the Univerſall Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reaſon urged or anſwered, onely to ſatisfie ſome mens wills and fantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelves in any point, but that of extirpating Epiſcopacie, and fighting againſt Me) muſt needs argue ſuch a ſoftneſſe and infirmitic of mind in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, then Mans Peace, and rather loſe the Churches honour, then croſſe ſome mens Factious humours.

God knows, and time will diſcover, who were moſt too blame for the unſucceſſefulneſſe of that Treatie, and who muſt bear the guilt of after-calamities: I believe, I am very excuſable both before God, and all unpaſsionate men, who have ſeriouſly weighed thoſe tranſactions, wherein I endeavoured no leſſe the reſtauration of Peace to my people, then the preſervation of my own Crowns to my Poſterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair condeſcendings as Arguments of feebleneſſe,

neſſe, and glory moſt in an unflexible ſtiffneſſe, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was, alwayes to ask ſomething which in reaſon and honour muſt be denied, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting Peace at as high a rate, as the worſt effects of warre; endeavouring firſt to make Me deſtroy my Self by diſhonourable Conceſsions, that ſo they might have the leſſe to do.

This was all which that Treatie, or any other produced, to let the world ſee, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publick peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens further reſtiveneſſe, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Conceſsions or Negations of mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regret, and blame for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſſe ſet Me not above a Treatie, nor the loweſt ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any ſigne of true valour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our own reaſons, or ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the moſt part preſage the unſucceſſefulneſſe of any Treatie, was, ſome mens unwillingnes to Treat: which implied

ſome

ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonableneſſe they were loth to have fairly ſcanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, then by Counſellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking, and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword, a better opportunity to uſe ſuch moderation as was then wanting; that ſo, though Peace were for our ſinnes juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may be happily obtain'd; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reaſon, and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beſeeching them to be reconciled with thy ſelf: who wanteſt not Power, or Juſtice to deſtroy them, yet aboundeſt in Mercy to ſave; ſoften our hearts by the bloud of our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of Peace with thy Self, and both to procure and preſerve peace among our ſelves, as Men and Chriſtians: How oft have I intreated for Peace! but when I ſpeak thereof, they make them ready to Warre.

Condemne us not to our paſsions which are deſtructive, both of our ſelves, and of others.

Clear up our underſtandings, to ſee thy Truth, both in Reaſon, as Men; and in Religion, as Chriſtians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmitie which is now in our hearts againſt Thee; and give us that Charity which ſhould be among our ſelves.

Remove the evils of Warre we have deſerved, and beſtow upon us that Peace, which onely Chriſt our great Peacemaker can merit.

19. *Upon the various events of the Warre; Victories and Defeats.*

THe various Succeſſes of this unhappy War, have at leaſt, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: ſometimes God was pleaſed to try Me with Victory, by worſting mine enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, & uſe his power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hoſts*, able when he pleaſes to repreſſe the confidence of thoſe, that fought againſt Me, with ſo great advantages for power and number.

From ſmall beginnings on my part, he let Me ſee that I was not wholly forſaken by my peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe my patience, and teach Me not to truſt in the arm of Fleſh, but in the living God.

My ſins ſometimes prevailed againſt the juſtice of my Cauſe; and thoſe that were with Me wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt chaſtiſement both of them and Me: Nor were my

my enemies leſſe puniſhed by that proſperity, which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtility, which was begun by moſt riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but perſonall and private ſinnes, may oft-times over-balance the Juſtice of Publck engagements; nor doth God account every gallant man (in the words eſteem) a fit inſtrument, to aſſert in the way of Warre, a righteous Cauſe: The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour, and ſtrength, the leſſe doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am ſure the event or ſucceſſe can never ſtate the Juſtice of any Cauſe, nor the peace of mens Conſciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Thoſe with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification, the Word of God, & the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to my juſt Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or againſt Me, in the point of raiſing Arms.

Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flie to the ſhifts of ſome pretended Fears, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the preſent fabrick, both of Church and State; being ſuch imaginary Reaſons for ſelf-defence, as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being my Subjects, were manifeſtly

the firſt aſſaulters of Me and the Laws: firſt by unſuppreſsed Tumults, after by liſted Forces: The ſame Allegations they uſe, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough, to ſecond with the Sword all their demands, againſt the preſent Laws and Governours; which can never be ſuch as ſome ſide or other will not find fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them, to a Rebellion against them, ſome paraſitick Preachers have dared to call thoſe Martyrs, who died fighting against Me, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion eſtabliſhed.

But ſober Christians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth be applyed onely to thoſe, who ſincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all theſe particulars, before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantageous deſigns by any Innovation, were religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the Church, and my Self, which lay upon their ſouls, both for obedience and just aſsistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternall life, whoſe lives were loſt in ſo juſt a cauſe: The deſtruction of their bodies being ſanctified, as a means to ſave their ſouls.

Their wounds and temporall ruine ſerving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happineſſe; while the evident approach of death

death did, through Gods grace, effectually diſpoſe their hearts to ſuch Humilitie, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their preſent engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutiſh and diſloyall fierceneſſe could deprive them of; or without repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better againſt my ſide in the Field; but never, I believe, at the Bar of Gods Tribunall, or their own Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter thoſe many pregnant Reaſons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict with, and accuſe them in their own thoughts, then they oft were in a deſperate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces, which ſometimes God gave Me.

Whoſe condition conquered and dying, I make no queſtion, but is infinitely more to be choſen by a ſober man, (that duly values his duty, his ſoul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this preſent life) then the moſt triumphant glory, wherein their and mine enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their ſuſpicious, or now convicted Conſciences do purſue them, eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen, how falſe and unintended · thoſe pretenſions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the onely plauſible

(though not juſt fiable) grounds of raiſing a Warre, and continuing it thus long againſt Me, and the Laws eſtabliſhed; in whoſe ſafetie and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their Countrey doth conſiſt.

For, and with all which, it is farre more honourable and comfortable to ſuffer, then to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on my ſide might joyn true pietie, with the ſenſe of their Loyaltie; and be as faithfull to God and their own ſouls, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one, might not blaſt the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any ſhews, or truth of piety on the other ſide, were ſufficient to diſpence with, or expiate the defects of their Dutie and Loyaltie to Me, which have ſo pregnant convictions on mens Conſciences, that even profaner men are moved by the ſenſe of them, to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without my ſorrow, becauſe it was on mine own Subjects, who like *Abſolom*, died many of them in their ſin: and yet I never ſuffered any defeat, which made Me deſpair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never deſired ſuch Victories, as might ſerve to conquer, but onely reſtore the Laws and Liberties of my people; which I ſaw were extremely oppreſſed, together with my Rights, by thoſe men who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint. When

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, my desire was neither to boast of my power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed at last would make all things to work together for my good.

I wished no greater advantages by the Warre, then to bring my enemies to moderation, and my friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, then over my Self. When the first was denied, the second was granted Me, which God saw best for Me.

The different events were but the methods of Divine Justice, by contrary winds to winow us: That, by punishing our sinnes, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace, shewed that I delighted not in Warre: as my former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and my totall unpreparednesse for it, how little I intended it

The conscience of my innocency forbad Me to fear a War; but the love of my Kingdoms commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it,

I am guilty in this Warre of nothing, but this, That I gave such advantages to some men, by

confirming their power, which they knew not to uſe with that modeſty and gratitude, which became their Loyaltie and my confidence.

Had I yielded leſſe, I had been oppoſed leſſe; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

Tis now too late to review the occaſions of the War: I wiſh onely a happy concluſion, of ſo unhappy beginnings: The inevitable fate of our ſinnes was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the Divine Juſtice to be quiet; we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to deſtroy one another: for the moſt proſperous ſucceſſes on either ſide, impair the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that leave our ſinnes unſubdued; fluſhing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it ſelf is not deſirable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelves, and leſſe againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fighting againſt one another: I pray God theſe may all meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe Civil Warres, that I may know better to obey God, and govern my People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject to Me, then all of us may be ſubject to God.

O my God, make Me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it ſo.

Teach Me the nobleſt victory over my Self, and my Enemies by patience; which was Chriſts conqueſt, and may well become a Chriſtian King.

Between both thy hands, the right ſometimes ſupporting, and the left afflicting; faſhion us to that frame of piety thou likeſt beſt.

Forgive the pride that attends our proſperous, and the repinings which follow our diſaſtrous events; when going forth in our own ſtrength, thou withdraweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are ſomething, and when we are nothing; that thou mayeſt have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt, how hard it is for Me, to ſuffer ſo much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but ſuffer in thoſe evils which they compell Me to inflict upon them; puniſhing My Self in their puniſhments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am ſtill a Sufferer; I beſeech thee to give Me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that meaſure of grace, which onely can be ſufficient for Me.

As I am moſt afflicted, ſo make Me moſt reformed: that I may be not onely happy to ſee an end of theſe civil diſtractions, but a chief Inſtrument to reſtore and eſtabliſh a firm, and bleſſed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each

other

other with reaſon, moderation, and ſuch ſelf-deniall, as becomes thoſe, who conſider, that our mutuall diviſions are our common diſtractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefeſt intereſt.

If, O Lord, as for the ſinnes of our peace, thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of warre; ſo for the ſinnes of warre, thou ſhouldſt ſee fit ſtill to denie us the bleſſing of peace, and ſo to keep us in a circulation of miſeries; yet give Me thy Servant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace, which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to Me the bloud of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingneſſe and grief, hath been ſhed by Me, in my juſt and neceſſary defence; but waſh Me with that precious bloud, which hath been ſhed for Me, by my great Peace-maker, Jeſus Chriſt. Who will, I truſt, redeem Me ſhortly out of all my troubles: For, I know, the triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

20. *Vpon the Reformations of the Times.*

NO Glorie is more to be envied then that of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation and noveltie are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honour Me ſo farre, as to make Me an Inſtrument of ſo good

a work, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments firſt intentions, to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruptions of manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee, after the freedome of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Laws eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſettled, which ought to be the firſt rule and ſtandard of reforming: with how much partialitie, and popular compliance the paſsions and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite ſcandall of the Reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order and Goverſiment in the Church; what novelties of Schiſmes, and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred adminiſtrations; what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppreſsions of the Clergie; what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of Me, have followed (as ſhowers do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſes, and with my Self ſad Spectatours hitherto.

The great miſcarriage, I think, is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of zeal, and the publick ſenſe, ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedome, moderation, and impartialitie are

ſure

ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Councels, and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more then it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion, to the free conſultation of a Synod, or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Counſels, as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo it's like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſemby of Divines, whom the two Houſes have applied (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of Church affairs, I diſlike not further, then that they are not legally convened and choſen; nor act in the name of all the Clergie of *England*; nor with freedome and impartialitie can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not overawed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think ſo many men cried up for learning and pietie, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main; would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to aboliſh both of them (the laſt of which, they knew to be of Apoſtolicall inſtitution, at leaſt, as of Primitive and Univerſall practice) if they had been left to the libertie of their own ſuffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by ſecret encrochments of hopes, and fears, prevailed upon them, to complie with ſo great and dangerous Innovations in the Church;

Church; without any regard to their own former judgement and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the Clergie, and in them of Order, Learning, and Religion; against examples of all ancient Churches, the Laws in force, and my consent; which is never to be gained, against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on my understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so clear and punctuall in precepts, there the constant and Universall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbyterie, what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacie; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authoritie of that ancient Order, I think neither just, as to Episcopacie, nor safe for Presbyterie; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due Reformation had easily followed moderate Counsels; and such (I believe) as would have given more content, even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravitie and Formalitie, to carrie on other mens designes: which no doubt many of them by this time

time diſcover, though they dare not but ſmother their fruſtrations and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular titles of Chriſts Government, Throne, Sceptre, and Kingdome; (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have, at leaſt) as alſo the noiſe of a through-Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fixed on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church windows, which Time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but Civil, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments, and Inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put Poſteritie in mind, to thank God, for that clearer light wherein they live: The leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities, in the Publick ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay, *Amen*, nor what adventure he may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſmes, and Confeſsions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much, as if there had been no ſound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome foure or five years conſultation had matured their thoughts, touching their firſt Principles of Religion.

All

All theſe, and the like are the effects of popular, ſpecious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not ſeem to have nothing to do) and may give ſome ſhort flaſhes of content to the vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long.) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Juſtice merit the glorie of the Churches through-Reformation; ſince they leave all things more deformed, diſorderly, and diſcontented, then when they began, in point of Pietie, Moralitie, Charitie, and good Order.

Nor can they eaſily recompenſe or remedie the inconveniences and miſchiefs, which they have purchaſed ſo dearly, and which have and ever will neceſſarily enſue, till due remedies be applied.

I wiſh they would at laſt, make it their Unanimous work, to do Gods work, and not their own. Had Religion been firſt conſidered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But ſome men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by ſo many Laws and long Cuſtomes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had firſt melted it in the fire of Civil Warre; by the advantages of which they reſolved, if they prevailed, to make my Self and all my Subjects fall down, and worſhip the Images they ſhould form and ſet up: If there

there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdome, and charitie in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christs Rule; it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glorie, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unitie of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practise that on their own hearts, which they purpose to trie on others; for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformation, to such private designes as must needs hinder the publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church, cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil State; nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyaltie, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion: For, next to *Fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdome may be set up, without pulling down mine; nor will any men in impartiall times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs Government will confirm mine, not overthrow it, since as I own mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his glory, & his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christs Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they

they could never have been ſo ill governed in their words, and actions, both againſt Me, and one another.

As good ends cannot juſtifie evil means, ſo nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good concluſions; unleſſe God by a miracle of Mercie, create Light out of Darkneſſe, order out of our confuſions, and peace out of our paſsions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canſt give us beauty for aſhes, and Truth for Hypocriſie; ſuffer us not to be miſerably deluded with Phariſaicall waſhings, in ſtead of Chriſtian reformings.

Our greateſt deformities are within, make us the ſevereſt Cenſurers, and firſt reformers of our own ſouls.

That we may in clearneſſe of judgement, and uprightneſſe of heart, be means to reform what is indeed amiſſe in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right ſpirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy bleſsing.

Pitie the deformities, which ſome raſh and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State: Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As Thou haſt ſhewed the world by their diviſions, and confuſions, what is the pravity of ſome mens intentions, and weakneſſe of their judgements; ſo bring us at laſt more refined out of thoſe fires, by the methods of Chri-

stian and charitable Reformations: wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousnesse, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy providence in just and lawfull wayes shall entrust with so great good, and now most necessary work. That I and my People may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

21. *Upon His Majesties Letters, taken, and divulged.*

THe taking of my Letters was an opportunitie, which, as the malice of mine enemies could hardly have expected; so they knew not how with honour and civility to use it: Nor do I think with sober and worthy minds, any thing in them could tend so much to my reproch, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamie of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of vertue and Nobleness, being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemie; and the greatest obligations being those which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of my papers: The freedome and secresie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane; then to expose them to publick view.

Yet

Yet ſince Providence will have it ſo, I am content ſo much of my heart (which I ſtudy to approve to Gods omniſcience) ſhould be diſcovered to the world, without any of thoſe dreſſes, or popular captations, which ſome men uſe in their Speeches and Expreſſes; I wiſh my Subjects had yet a clearer ſight into my moſt retired thoughts:

Where they might diſcover, how they are divided between the loue and care I have, not more to preſerve my own Rights, then to procure their peace aud happineſſe, and that extreme grief to ſee them both deceived and deſtroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by my Letters, then to ſee my conſtancy to my Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather honey where the Spider ſucks poyſon.

That I endeavour to avoid the preſſures of my Enemies, by all fair and juſt correſpondencies, no man can blame, who loves Me, or the Common-wealth; ſince my Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miſerable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppreſſed.

The world may ſee how ſoon mens deſigne, like *Abſoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exaſperate all ſides to ſuch diſtances, as may make all reconciliation deſperate: Yet I thank God, I can not onely with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury, my expreſsions can do them; for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedome in writing ſuch Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the innocency of my chief purpoſes cannot be ſo ſtained, or miſ-interpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more then an happy compoſure of differences with Juſtice and Honour, not more to mine own, then my people content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyaltie left in them: who by thoſe my Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act mine own, and my Kingdoms affairs, ſo as becomes a Prince; which mine Enemies have alwayes been very loth ſhould be believed of Me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others; whom they pleaſe to brand with the names of evil Counſellours.

Its probable ſome men wil now look upon Me as my own Counſellour, and having none elſe to quarrel with under that notion, they wil hereafter confine their anger to my Self: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of mine own Thoughts, or follow the light of mine own Conſcience, which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivity to themſelves; not allowing me to think their Counſels to be other then good for Me, which have ſo long maintained a War againſt Me.

The

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom proſperity gains the greateſt eſteem and applauſe, as adverſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſreſpect: As if good fortune were alwayes the ſhadow of Virtue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeem ſufficient to that cauſe, which began with tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no Victories ſo effectuall to their deſignes, as thoſe that moſt rout and waſte my Credit with my People; in whoſe hearts they ſeek by all means to ſmother and extinguiſh all ſparks of Love, Reſpect, and Loyaltie to Me, that they may never kindle again, ſo as to recover mine, the Laws, and the Kingdoms Liberties, which ſome men ſeek to overthrow. The taking away of my Credit, is but a neceſſary preparation to the taking away of my Life, and my Kingdoms: Firſt, I muſt ſeem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reigne: By exquiſite methods of cunning and cruelty, I muſt be compelled, firſt to follovv the Funerals of my Honour, and then be deſtroyed: But I knovv Gods unerring and impartiall

Juſtice can, and will overrule the moſt perverſe wills and deſignes of men: He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worſt of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor do I think, that by the ſurprize of my Letters, I have loſt any more then ſo many papers: How much they have loſt of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be paid to all men, and moſt becomes ſuch as pretend to Religion) beſides that of Reſpect and Honour, which they ow to their KING, preſent, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own conſciences are ſo ſtupid, as not to inflict upon them ſome ſecret impreſsions of that ſhame and diſhonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never ſo much of publick flattery, and popular countenance.

I am ſure they can never expect the Divine approbation of ſuch indecent actions, if they do but remember how God bleſt the modeſt reſpect and filiall tenderneſſe, which *Noahs* ſonnes bare to to their Father; nor did his open infirmity juſtifie *Chams* impudencie, or exempt him from that curſe of being *Servant of Servants*; which curſe muſt needs be on them, who ſeek by diſhonourable actions to pleaſe the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions be ever either ex-

excuſable, or proſperous, who thought by this means to expoſe Me to the higheſt reproch and contempt of my People; forgetting that duty of modeſt concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Countrey, in caſe they had diſcovered any reall uncomelineſſe; which, I thank God they did not; who can, and I believe hath made Me more reſpected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publiſhing my private Letters, to have rendred Me as a vile Perſon, not fit to be truſted or conſidered under any notion of Majeſtie.

But thou, O Lord, whoſe wiſe and all-diſpoſing providence, ordereth the greateſt contingencies of humane affairs; make Me to ſee the conſtancie of thy mercies to Me, in the greateſt advantages thou ſeemeſt to give the malice of my Enemies againſt Me.

As thou didſt blaſt the counſel of Achitophel, *turning it to* Davids *good, and his own ruine: ſo canst thou defeat their deſign, who intended by publiſhing my private Letters, nothing elſe but to render Me more odious and contemptible to my People.*

I must first appeal to thy Omniſcience, who canst witneſſe with my integrity, how unjust and falſe thoſe ſcandalous miſconſtructions are, which my enemies endeavour by thoſe Papers of mine to repreſent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and diſpleaſure they intended thereby against Me, ſo to return on their own heads

that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion, as with a cloak.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all means to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give Me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in Me a purpose to honour Thee, and then I know thou wilt honour Me, either by restoring to Me the enjoyment of that Power and Majesty, which Thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive Me of; or by bestowing on Me that crown of Christian patience, which knows how to serve Thee in honour or dishonour, in good report or evil

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodnesse, and honour; Thou art clothed with excellent Majestie; make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdome, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour and Majestie, which becomes the Place in which thou hast set me, who art the lifter up of my head, and my salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.

22. *Upon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given Me three Kingdoms, yet in these He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safetie and Honour rest my Head: Shewing Me that himself is the safest

ſeſt Refuge, and the ſtrongeſt Tower of defence, in which I may put my Truſt.

In theſe extremities, I look not to man ſo much as to God: He will have it thus, that I may wholly caſt my Self, and my now diſtreſſed affairs upon his mercie, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his diſpoſe.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Neceſsitie is now my Counſellour, and commands Me to ſtudie my ſafety by a diſguiſed withdrawing from my chiefeſt ſtrength, and adventuring upon their Loyaltie, who firſt began my troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compoſe them.

This my confidence of Them, may diſarm and overcome them; my rendring my Perſon to Them, may engage their affections to Me, who have oft profeſſed, *They fought not againſt Me, but for Me.*

I muſt now reſolve the riddle of their Loyaltie, and give them opportunitie to let the world ſee, they mean not what they do, but what they ſay.

Yet muſt God be My chiefeſt Guard; and My Conſcience both My Counſellour and My Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I ſhall reſerve My Soul to God, and My Self; nor ſhall any neceſsities compell Me, to deſert Mine Honour, or ſwerve from My Judgement.

What

What they ſought to take by force, ſhall now be given them in ſuch a way of unuſuall confidence of them, as may make them aſhamed not to be really ſuch as they ought, and profeſſed to be.

God ſees it not enough to deprive Me of all Militarie power to defend My ſelf; but to put Me upon uſing their power, who ſeem to fight againſt Me, yet ought in dutie to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and ſo neceſsitous may the ſtate of Princes be, that their greateſt danger may be in their ſuppoſed ſafetie, and their ſafetie in their ſuppoſed danger.

I muſt now leave thoſe, that have adhered to Me, and applie to thoſe that have oppoſed Me; this method of Peace may be more proſperous, then that of Warre, both to ſtop the effuſion of bloud, and to cloſe thoſe wounds already made: and in it I am no leſſe ſolicitous for My Friends ſafetie, then Mine own; choſing to venture My Self upon further hazards, rather then expoſe their reſolute Loyaltie to all extremities.

It is ſome skill in play to know when a game is loſt; better fairly to give over, then to conteſt in vain.

I muſt now ſtudie to reinforce My judgement, and fortifie My mind with Reaſon and Religion; that I may not ſeem to offer up My Souls libertie, or make My Conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Arms,

to

to have perſwaded My conſent to their new demands.

I thank God, no ſucceſſe darkens or diſguiſes Truth to Me; and I ſhall no leſſe conform my words to my inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power.*

Reaſon is the divineſt power: I ſhall never think my Self weakned while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eclipſe of outward fortune ſhall rob Me of that light; what God hath denied of outward ſtrength, his grace, I hope, will ſupplie with inward reſolutions; not moroſitie to denie what is fit to be granted, but not to grant any thing, which Reaſon and Religion bids Me denie.

I ſhall never think my Self leſſe then my Self, while I am able thus to preſerve the Integritie of my Conſcience, the onely Jewel now left Me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Sovereigne of our Souls, the onely Commander of our Conſciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are towards Thee: To the protection of thy mercy I ſtill commend my Self.

As thou haſt preſerved me in the day of Battel, ſo thou canſt ſtill ſhew me thy ſtrength in my weakneſſe.

Be thou unto me in my darkeſt night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hotteſt affli-

ction,

ction, be alſo a pillar of cloud to overſhadow and protect Me; be to Me both a Sunne and a Shield.

Thou knoweſt, that it is not any perverſeneſſe of will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honour, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made Me thus farre to hazard my Perſon, Peace, and Safety, againſt thoſe that by force have ſought to wreſt them from Me.

Suffer not my juſt reſolutions to abate with my outward Forces; Let a good Conſcience alwayes accompany Me, in My greateſt ſolitude and deſertions.

Suffer Me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, and that fortreſſe of my Soul, which I am intruſted to keep for Thee.

Lead Me in the paths of thy righteouſneſſe, and ſhew Me thy ſalvation.

Make my wayes to pleaſe Thee, and then thou wilt make Mine Enemies to be at peace with Me.

23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the King to the* Engliſh; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may I juſtifie thoſe *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived Me; for I never truſted to them further then to men: if I am ſold by them, I am onely ſorrie they ſhould do it; and that my price ſhould be ſo much above my Saviours.

Theſe are but further Eſſays, which God will have Me make of mans uncertaintie, the more

to

to fix Me on himſelf, who never faileth them that truſt in him: Though the Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them, yet the Rock of *Iſrael* will be an everlaſting ſtay and defence.

Gods providence commands Me to retire from all to himſelf, that in him I may enjoy my Self, which I loſe, while I let out my hopes to others.

The ſolitude and captivitie, to which I am now reduced, gives Me leiſure enough to ſtudie the worlds vanitie and inconſtancie.

God ſees it fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black Liſt of irreligious, and ſacrilegious Princes.

No reſtraint ſhall enſnare my Soul in ſinne, nor gain that of Me, which may make my Enemies more inſolent, my Friends aſhamed, or my Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſe to triumph, that they have got my Perſon into their power, ſince my Soul is ſtill my own; nor ſhall they ever gain my Conſent againſt my Conſcience.

What they call obſtinacie, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancie, from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honour forbid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not evil Counſellours

ſellours with Me, but a good Conſcience in Me, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring Me to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſome men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh Me; not more a King, and farre leſſe both Man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though it have as little of ſafetie to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men ſhall never be my ſnare; nor ſhall the love of any libertie entangle my Soul: Better others betray Me, then my Self: and that the price of my libertie ſhould be my Conſcience; the greateſt injuries my Enemies ſeek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own conſent

While I can denie with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſsions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily, what I have alreadie granted; nor what to require more of Me but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy My Self and Mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy Me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe Me.

Neither libertie nor life are ſo dear to Me, as the peace of my Conſcience, the Honour of my Crowns, and the welfare of my people, which my Word may injure more then any Warre can do; while I gratifie a few to oppreſſe all. The

The Laws will, by Gods bleſsing, revive, with the love and Loyaltie of my Subjects; if I burie them not by my conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonour, and injuſtice, which ſome mens violence hath digged for them.

If my captivitie or death muſt be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carries not with it, his Souls, his Peoples, and Poſterities thraldome.

After-times may ſee, what the blindneſſe of this Age will not, and God may at length ſhew my Subjects, that I choſe rather to ſuffer for them, then with them: happily I might redeem my Self to ſome ſhew of libertie, if I would conſent to enſlave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whoſe ſolitude hath not left Me alone.

For Thou, O God, infinitely good, and great, art with Me, whoſe preſence is better then life, and whoſe ſervice is perfect freedome.

Own Me for thy Servant, and I ſhall never have cauſe to complain for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.

Bleſſe Me ſtill with Reaſon, as a Man; with Religion, as a Chriſtian; and with Conſtancy in Juſtice, as a King.

Though

Though Thou ſuffereſt Me to be ſtript of all outward ornaments, yet preſerve Me ever in thoſe enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy ſelf; and which cannot be taken from Me againſt My will.

Let no fire of affliction boyl over My paſsion to any impatience, or ſordid fears.

There be many ſay of Me, There is no help for Me: do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon Me, and I ſhall neither want ſafety, liberty, nor Majeſty.

Give Me that meaſure of patience and conſtancy, which my condition now requires.

My ſtrength is ſcattered, My expectation from Men defeated, My perſon reſtrained: O be not thou farre from Me, leſt My enemies prevail too much againſt Me.

I am become a wonder, and a ſcorn to many: O be thou my Helper and defender.

Shew ſome token upon Me for good, that they that hate Me may be aſhamed, becauſe thou Lord, haſt holpen and comforted Me: eſtabliſh Me with thy free Spirit, that I may do and ſuffer thy will, as thou wouldſt have Me.

Be mercifull to Me, O Lord, for my Soul trusteth in Thee; yea, and in the ſhadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, untill theſe calamities be overpaſt.

Ariſe to deliver Me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killeſt Me, yet will I truſt in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though Thou leadeſt Me through the vale and ſhadow of death, yet ſhall I fear none ill.

24. *Upon*

24. *Vpon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive Me of all other civill comforts, and secular attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplyed by the attendance of some of my Chaplains, whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelitie I have cause to love. By their learning, pietie, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time: so reaping by their pious help a spirituall harvest of grace amidst the thorns, and after the ploughings of temporall crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined Me unto, adds the Wildernesse to my temptations: For the company they obtrude upon Me, is more sad then any solitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my Power of the *Militia*, or any one of my Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policy of men forbids all just restitution, least they should confesse an injurious usurpation: But to deny Me the Ghostly comfort

of my Chaplains, ſeems a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt Priſoners, and greateſt Malefactours; whom though the Juſtice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergie, as not aiming at once to deſtroy their Bodies, and to damne their Souls.

But my Agony muſt not be relieved with the preſence of any one good Angel; for ſuch I account a Learned, Godly, and diſcreet Divine: and ſuch I would have all mine to be.

They that envy my being a King, are loth I ſhould be a Chriſtian; while they ſeek to deprive Me of all things elſe, they are afraid I ſhould ſave my ſoul.

Other ſenſe, Charity it ſelf can hardly pick out of thoſe many harſh repulſes I received, as to that requeſt ſo often made for the attendance of ſome of my Chaplains.

I have ſometime thought the unchriſtianneſſe of thoſe denials, might ariſe from a diſpleaſure ſome men had to ſee Me prefer my own Divines, before their Miniſters: whom, though I reſpect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them ſo proper for any preſent comforters or Phyſicians; who have (ſome of them at leaſt) had ſo great an influence in occaſioning theſe calamities, and inflicting theſe wounds upon Me.

Nor

Nor are the ſobereſt of them ſo apt for that devotionall compliance, and juncture of hearts, which I deſire to bear in thoſe holy Offices to be performed with Me, and for Me; ſince their judgements ſtanding at a diſtance from Me, or in jealouſie of Me, or in oppoſition againſt Me, their Spirits cannot ſo harmoniouſly accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet and moſt comfortable, whoſe golden Rule, and bond of Perfection conſiſts in that of mutuall Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worſe then the diſeaſe, and ſome comforters more miſerable then miſerie it ſelf; when like *Jobs* friends, they ſeek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perſwade a man by betraying his own Innocency, to deſpair of Gods mercy, and by juſtifying their injuries, to ſtrengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of Inſolent Enemies.

I am ſo much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beſeeming that ſacred Function, that I have hazarded my own Intereſts, chiefly upon Conſcience and Conſtancy to maintain their Rights, whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the ſacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; ſo I thought it my duty the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandſomly

requited by ſome of them; who may live to repent no leſſe for my ſufferings, then their own ungratefull errours, and that injurious contempt and meanneſſe, which they have brought upon their Calling and Perſons.

I pitie all of them, I deſpiſe none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of ſome for my ſpeciall Attendants, who were beſt approved in my Judgement, and moſt ſutable to my affection: For, I held it better to ſeem undevout, and to hear no mens prayers, then to be forced, or ſeem to comply with thoſe petitions, to which the heart cannot conſent, nor the tongue ſay *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own underſtanding, or belying his own ſoul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldneſſe, non pious non-ſenſe; but ſuch an humble and judicious gravity, as ſhews the Speaker to be at once conſiderate both of Gods Majeſtie, the Churches honour, and his own vileneſſe; knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner, to ſupplicate the Divine Mercy for himſelf and others.

I am equally ſcandalized with all prayers, that ſound either imperiouſly, rudely, and paſſionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charitie to men, or reſpect to the duty.

I confeſſe, I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons, ſo with ſuch Publick

lick Forms of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Chriſtians daily and common neceſsities, becauſe I am by them better aſſured, what I may joyn my heart unto; then I can be of any mans extemporary ſufficiency; which as I do not wholly exclude from publick occaſions, ſo I allow its juſt liberty and uſe in private and devout retirements; where neither the ſolemnity of the duty, nor the modeſt regard to others, do require ſo great exactneſſe, as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of underſtanding, and the fervencie of affection, I hold the main and moſt neceſſary requiſites, both in conſtant and occaſionall, ſolitarie and ſociall Devotions.

So that I muſt needs ſeem to all equall minds, with as much Reaſon to prefer the ſervice of my own Chaplains, before that of their Miniſters, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one I have been alwayes educated and exerciſed; in the other I am not yet catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet ſhould I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of moſt of thoſe men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe; which is already as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of them, as the Common-Prayer ſometimes was by thoſe men; a great part of

whose pietie hung upon that popular pin of raylling against, and contemning the Government and Liturgie of this Church. But, I had rather be condemned to the wo of *Væ soli*, then to that of *Væ vobis Hypocritis*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by my Deniers sufficient of my Self to discharge my duty to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regall and Sacerdotal, might well become the same person, as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, then those two eminent Kings, *David* and *Salomon*; not more famous for their Sceptres and Crowns, then one was for devout Psalms and Prayers; the other for his Divine Parables and preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, then any of those the Romane Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious, to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdome and providence hath, for the most part, alwayes distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Chri-

Chriſtian Churches: I am ſorry to find my Self reduced to the neceſsity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For ſuch as ſeek to deprive Me of Kingly power and Sovereignty, would no leſſe enforce Me to live many months without all prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unleſſe I become mine own Chaplain.

As I ow the Clergy the protection of a Chriſtian KING, ſo I deſire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and praiers; which I look upon as more prevalent then my own or other mens, by how much they flow from minds more enlightened, and affections leſſe diſtracted, then thoſe, which are incombred with Secular affairs: beſides, I think a greater bleſsing and acceptableneſſe attends thoſe duties which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have ſpecially deſigned and conſecrated ſome men: And however, as to the ſpirituall government, by which the devout Soul is ſubject to Chriſt, & through his merits daily offers it ſelf and its ſervices to God, every private believer is a King and a Priest, invested with the honour of a royal Priesthood; yet as to Eccleſiastical order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confuſion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwayes bred to more modeſt, and I think more pious Principles: the conſciouſneſſe to my ſpirituall defects, makes Me more prize and deſire thoſe pious aſsiſtances, which holy & good Miniſters, either Biſhops or Presbyters, may afford Me; eſpecially in theſe extremities, to which God hath been pleaſed to ſuffer ſome of my Subjects to reduce Me; ſo as to leave them nothing more but my life to take from Me, and to leave Me nothing to deſire, which I thought might leſſe provoke their jealouſie and offence to deny Me, then this, of having ſome means afforded Me for my ſouls comfort and ſupport.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every way eminent for their learning and pietie, no leſſe then for their Loyaltie: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made againſt them, but onely this, that they may ſeem too able and too well affected toward Me and my ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I count it the beſt) in which they have forced Me to ſerve my Self; though I muſt confeſſe I bear with more grief and impatience the want of my Chaplains, then of any other my Servants, and next (if not beyond in ſome things) to the being ſequeſtred from my Wife and Children, ſince from theſe indeed more of humane and temporarie affections, but from thoſe more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected. My

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinarie means, God is wont to afford extraordinarie ſupplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me, and help my infirmities in praier, reading, and meditation, (as I hope he will) I ſhall need no other, either Oratour or Inſtructer.

To Thee therefore, O my God, do I direct My now ſoltary prayers; what I want of others help, ſupplie with the more immediate aſsiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten My darkneſſe, and quicken My dulneſſe.

O thou Sun of righteouſneſſe, thou ſacred Fountain of heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warm my heart, both by inſtructing of me, and interceding for me: In Thee is all fulneſſe; From Thee all ſufficiency: By Thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me, and be thou ever with me.

The ſingle wreſtlings of Jacob *prevailed with Thee, in that ſacred Duell, when he had none to ſecond him but thy Self, who didſt aſsiſt him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wreſt a bleſsing from thee.*

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didſt once bleſſe with the joynt and ſociated Devotions of others,

others, whose fervencie might inflame the coldnesse of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy House with the voice of joy and gladnesse, worshipping thee in the unity of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a Pelican in the wildernesse, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a coal scattered from all those pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve, and increase the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of praises, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet, O thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smoking Flax, do not despise the weaknesse of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my Soul in this uncomfortable loneneſſe; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denialls of those helps, which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardnesse of their hearts occasion the softenings of mine to Thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreasonable denials of my Religious desires, the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafnesse incline thine eare to me; who art a God easie to be entreated; thine eare is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not heare; nor thy hand shortened, that it cannot help Me thy desolate Supppliant.

Thou

Thou permitteſt men to deprive me of thoſe outward means, which thou haſt appointed in thy Church, but they cannot debarre me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me ſuch, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt heare me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not deſpiſe.

Thou, O Lord, canſt at once make me thy Temple, thy Prieſt, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart (I alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my ſelf to thee; who prepareſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and acceppteſt of me.

Thou, O Lord, didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handfull of meal in the veſſel ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oyl in the cruiſe fail the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my ſoul, which as a Widow, is now deſolate and forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving Truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory; nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholeſome food, for the refreſhing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chooſe, then to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, then teaching me; whoſe mouthes are proner to bitter reproches of me, then to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to My deſtruction, (which are clear for

their

their ſubjection, and my preſervation.) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour of long prayers) have ſought to devoure the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not thoſe mens balms break my head, nor their Cordialls oppreſſe my heart: I will evermore pray againſt their wickedneſſe.

From the poyſon under their tongues, from the ſnares of their lips, from the fire, and the ſwords of their words, ever deliver Me, O Lord, and all thoſe Loyall and Religious hearts, who deſire and delight in the proſperity of my ſoul, and who ſeek by their prayers to relieve this ſadneſſe, and ſolitude of thy Servant, O my King, and my God.

25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vows in the KINGS ſolitude at *Holmeby*.

GIve eare to my words, O Lord, conſider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I ſaid in my haſte, I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eyes; neverthleſſe thou heareſt the voice of my ſupplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord ſhouldſt be extreme to mark what is done amiſſe, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayeſt be feared; therefore ſhall ſinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledge my ſins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place, adding weight to my offences. Forgive

Forgive, I beseech thee, my Personall and my Peoples sins, which are so farre mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest Me, to thy glory and my Subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedome of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subjects: Justly, O Lord, as to thy overruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though thou hast restrained My Person; yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards Me.

I come farre short of Davids *piety; yet since I may equall* Davids *afflictions, give me also the comforts and the sure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdomes have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn thee, (O Lord) unto me, have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of my heart are enlarged, O bring me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindnesses, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to see thy goodnesse in the land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let

Let this fiery triall consume the drosse, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of prosperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not yet to be turned away, but thy hand of justice must be stretched out still; Let it, I beseech thee, be against me, and my Fathers house: as for these sheep, what have they done.

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches enemies?

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure of my charity.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge; that I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, so I beseech thee, do thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me an heart to pray unto thee; so heare and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember Me, and My Kingdoms; In continuing the light of thy Gospel, and settling thy true Religion among us:

In restoring us to the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice:

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church, and Factions in State:

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predecessours: *If*

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy ſelf in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charitie:

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewel of theſe Civil Warres:

If thou wilt bleſſe us with the freedome of publick Counſels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the inſolencie of the vulgar:

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing againſt my Conſcience; and eſpecially from conſenting to ſacrilegious rapines, and ſpoilings of thy Church:

If thou wilt reſtore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State:

Then ſhall my ſoul praiſe thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then ſhall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power, be my chiefeſt care.

Then will I rule my People with juſtice, and my Kingdoms with equity.

To thy more immediate hand ſhall I ever own, as the rightfull ſucceſsion, ſo the mercifull reſtauration of my Kingdoms, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring Me again with peace, ſafety, and honour, to My chiefeſt City, and my Parliament:

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Juſtice into my hand, to puniſh and protect:

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and reſolution of Chriſtian charity, which I now make unto thee, O Lord.

As

As I do freely pardon for Christ's sake those that have offended me in any kind, so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnaturall divisions; for thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the wayes of amnesty, and indempnitie, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mercies be toward Me and Mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Heare my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer, nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soul, commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou, O Lord, hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.



26. *Upon the Armies Surprisall of the* KING *at* Holmeby, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have Me now to act or suffer, in this new and strange scene of affairs, I am not much solicitous: some little practise will serve that man, who onely seeks to represent a part of honesty and honour.

This surprize of Me tells the world, that a KING cannot be so low, but He is considerable; adding weight to that Partie where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, seems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, then in vain to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the centre, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of Union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those

that pretend to build *Jeruſalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*, and ſounds too like the fury of thoſe Zealots, whoſe inteſtine bitterneſſe and diviſions, were the greateſt occaſion of the laſt fatall deſtruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers and Priſon, but not my captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that thoſe who are ſo much profeſſed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly againſt the Libertie of their KING; what they demand for their own Conſciences, they cannot in Reaſon denie to Mine.

In this they ſeem more ingenuous, then the Presbyterian rigour, who ſometimes complaining of exacting their conformitie to Laws, are become the greateſt Exactours of other mens ſubmiſsion to their novel injunctions, before they are ſtamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without my conſent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themſelves manumitted from their Rivals ſervice, in that they carry on a buſineſſe of ſuch conſequence, as the aſſuming my Perſon into the Armies cuſtody, without any Commiſsion, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a KING, muſt not be thought over-modeſt, or timerous to carry on any deſigne they have a mind to.

Their next motion, menaces and ſcares both the

the two Houſes and the City: which ſoon-after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both, & ſee their former ſin in the glaſſe of the preſent terrours and diſtractions.

No man is ſo blind as not to ſee herein the hand of Divine Juſtice; they that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now be chaſtened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſin, but adde ſin to ſin, till the latter puniſh the former: ſuch as were content to ſee Me and many Members of both Houſes driven away, by the firſt unſuppreſsed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Armie, or defend themſelves againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens juſtice? the Members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew, (as my Self was forced to do) from the rudeneſſe of the tumults, were counted deſerters, and outed of their places in Parliament.

Such as ſtayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the tumults, were aſſerted for the onely Parliament men: now the fliers from, and forſakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary powe along with them, complain highly againſt the tumults, and vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abettours of tumultuary inſolen-

cies, and betrayers of the Freedome and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law, where men look more to preſent advantages, then their Conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice: while they are judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good, the Authours and Abettours of them are guilty of prodigious inſolencies, when as before, they were counted as Friends, and neceſſarie Aſſiſtants.

I ſee Vengeance purſues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are ſaid to have done a Biſhop in *Germany*) them that thought to have eſcaped and fortified themſelves moſt impregnably againſt it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will puniſh, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but obſerve this Divine Juſtice, yet with ſorrow and pity: for I alwayes wiſhed ſo well to Parliament and Citie, that I was ſorrie to ſee them do, or ſuffer any thing unworthy ſuch great and conſiderable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to ſee them onely ſcared and humbled, not broken by that ſhaking: I never had ſo ill a thought of thoſe Cities, as to deſpair of their Loyaltie to Me; which miſtakes might eclipſe, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the ſtorm be yet wholly paſſed over them, upon whom I look, as Chriſt did ſometime over *Jeruſalem*, as objects of my Prayers and tears, with compaſsionate grief foreſeeing thoſe ſeverer ſcatterings, which will certainly befall ſuch as wantonly refuſe to be gathered to their duty: fatall blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilfulneſſe, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt, to prevent their ſorrows, who would not timely repent of their ſins; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace They wil find, that brethren in iniquity are not far from becoming inſolent enemies, there being nothing harder, then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it poſsible to gain a fair period for thoſe notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanſie, then in a right line of Reaſon tending to the Law, the onely centre of publick conſiſtency; whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully ſee how much more happy we are, to be ſubject to the known Laws, then to the various wills of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractorie ſullennes: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo farre excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and intereſts, demanding Pay and Indemnitie) I think it neceſſary, in order to the publick Peace, that they ſhould be ſatisfied, as far as is juſt; no man being more prone to conſider them then my Self: though they have fought againſt Me, yet I cannot but ſo farre eſteem that valour and gallantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never want ſuch men to maintain my Self, my Laws, and my Kingdoms, in ſuch a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion as much as any men.

But Thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a ſacred Trinity, in mercy behold thoſe, whom thy Juſtice hath divided.

Deliver Me from the ſtrivings of my People, and make Me to ſee how much they need my prayers and pitie, who agreed to fight againſt Me, and yet are now ready to fight againſt one another, to the continuance of my Kingdoms diſtractions.

Diſcover to all ſides the wayes of Peace, from which they have ſwarved; which conſiſts not in the divided wils of parties, but in the joint & due obſervation of the Laws

Make Me willing to go whither thou wilt lead Me by thy Providence; and be Thou ever with Me, that I may ſee thy conſtancie in the worlds varietie and changes.

Make Me even ſuch as Thou wouldſt have Me, that I

may

may at last enjoy that safety and tranquility, which Thou alone canst give Me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to adde fewel to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wils to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to Thy Glory and the Publick Peace, least their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, that they cannot want enemies, who abound in sinne, nor shall they be long undisarmed and undestroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against Thee, and the clear convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselves, then ever they did against me

Their sinnes exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to tumults, and their tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let Me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in my dying extremities to pray to Thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied Me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves, who the lesse

they were for Me, the more cauſe they have to weep for themſelves.

O let not my bloud be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of ſome, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Me.

But Thou, O Lord, canſt, and wilt (as Thou didſt my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect Me by my ſufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy, then of mans cruelty, or thy own juſtice.



27. *To the Prince of* VVales.

SOn, if theſe Papers, with ſome others, wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of my Conſcience, and my moſt impartial thoughts, touching the chief paſſages, which have been moſt remarkable or diſputed in my late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſigned; they may be ſo farre uſefull to You, as to ſtate your judgement aright in what hath paſſed; whereof, a pious is the beſt uſe can be made: and they may alſo give you ſome directions, how to remedie the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is ſome kind of deceiving and leſſening the injurie of my long reſtraint, when I find my leiſure and ſolitude have produced ſomething worthy of my Self, and uſefull to you: That neither you, nor any other, may hereafter meaſure my

Cauſe

Cauſe by the Succeſſe; nor my Judgement of things by my misfortunes; which I count the greater by farre, becauſe they have ſo farre lighted upon you, and ſome others, whom I have moſt cauſe to love as well as my Self; and of whoſe unmerited ſufferings I have a greater ſenſe then of mine own.

But this advantage of wiſdome you have above moſt Princes; that you have begun, and now ſpent ſome years of diſcretion, in the experience of troubles, and exerciſe of patience, wherein Pietie, and all Virtues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving, (as trees ſet in winter) then in the warmth, and ſerenitie of times, or amidſt thoſe delights, which uſually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plentie; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Virtue and Honour; or to be contented onely with ſome leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, ſuch as tend to the publick good; for which Princes ſhould alwaies remember they are born, and by providence deſigned.

The evidence of which different education, the holie Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Reboboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flouriſhing Kingdome, the other ſoftened by the unparallel'd proſperitie of *Solomons* Court; and ſo corrupted to the great diminution,

diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdome, by thoſe flatteries, which are as unſeparable from Proſperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in ſummer; whom adverſitie, like cold weather drives away.

I had rather you ſhould be *Charles le boon*, then *le Grand*, good, then great: I hope God hath deſigned you to be both, having ſo early put you into that exerciſe of his Graces, and Gifts beſtowed upon you, which may beſt weed out all vitious inclinations, and diſpoſe you to thoſe Princely endowments, and employments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Sovereigne diſpoſer of the Kingdoms of the world, who pulleth down one, and ſetteth up another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Sovereigntie you can attain to is, to be ſubject to him, that that the Sceptre of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glorie of Princes conſiſts in advancing Gods Glorie, in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good: Alſo in the diſpenſation of civil Power, with Juſtice and Honour to the publick Peace.

Pietie will make you proſperous; at leaſt it will keep you from being miſerable: nor is he much

much a loſer, that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own ſoul at laſt.

To which Centre of true Happineſſe, God, I truſt, hath and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of Affliction, which he hath been pleaſed to draw on Me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn Me nearer to himſelf. You have alreadie taſted of that cup whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Phyſick, having that in healthfulneſſe, which it wants in pleaſure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are alreadie, well-grounded and ſettled in your Religion: The beſt profeſsion of which, I have ever eſteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own Judgement and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciouſly your own Religion, and not other mens cuſtome or tradition, which you profeſſe.

In this I charge you to perſevere, as coming neareſt to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with ſome little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion, will not be more neceſſarie for your ſouls, then your Kingdoms peace, when God ſhall bring you to them.

For

For I have obſerved, that the Devil of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion; when Pietie pleads for peace and patience, they crie out Zeal.

So that, unleſſe in this point You be well ſettled, you ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy you and yours, under pretenſions of reforming matters of Religion; for that ſeems, even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſignes.

Where, beſides the Noveltie which is taking enough with the Vulgar, everie one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto they are conſcious by a ſeveritie of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church well ſettled; your partiall adhering, as head, to any one ſide, gains you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts, (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loſeth you in others; who think themſelves, and

and their profeſsion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you. Take ſuch a courſe, as may either with calmneſſe and charitie quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartialitie; or ſo order affairs in point of Power, that you ſhall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their courteſie, you are undone: The Serpent will devoure the Dove: you may never expect leſſe of loyaltie, juſtice, or humanitie, then from thoſe, who engage into religious Rebellion: Their intereſt is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Pietie, ambitious policies march, not onely with greateſt ſecuritie, but applauſe, as to the populacie; you may heare from them *Jacobs* voice, but you ſhall feel they have *Eſau's* hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſſe conſiderable then the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many years; ſo compliant they were to publick order: nor indeed was their Partie great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgements: but as ſoon as diſcontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the diſaffected part, which cauſes inflammations) ſo did all, at firſt, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants to Presbyterie, their great Maſter: till time

and

and militarie ſucceſſe diſcovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part ſtakes, and leaving the joynt ſtock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Partie the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbyterie it ſelf, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have ingroſſed all.

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to you in matters which concern Religion & the Churches peace, ſo as to neglect a ſpeedie reforming and effectuall ſuppreſsing Errours and Schiſmes, which ſeem at firſt but as a hand-breadth, yet by ſeditious Spirits, as by ſtrong winds, are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done juſtice to God, your own ſoul, and his Church, in the profeſsion and preſervation both of truth and unitie in Religion; the next main hinge on which your proſperitie will depend, and move, is, that of Civil Juſtice, wherein the ſettled Laws of theſe Kingdoms, to which you are rightly Heire, are the moſt excellent rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects induſtrie, libertie, and happineſſe; and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſtie and prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whoſe ſubjection, as it preſerves their propertie, peace, and ſafetie, ſo it will never diminiſh

diminiſh your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties, which conſiſts in the enjoyment of the fruits of their induſtrie, and the benefit of thoſe Laws to which themſelves have conſented.

Never charge your Head with ſuch a Crown, as ſhall by its heavineſſe oppreſſe the whole bodie, the weakneſſe of whoſe parts cannot return any thing of ſtrength, honour, or ſafetie, to the Head, but a neceſſary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed, and exerciſed in remitting, rather then exacting the rigour of the Laws; there being nothing worſe then legall Tyrannie.

In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion, and Laws, I may (without vanitie) turn the reproch of My ſufferings, as to the worlds cenſure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the teſtimony of My own Conſcience: The Troublers of My Kingdoms having nothing elſe to object againſt Me, but this, That I preferre Religion, and Laws eſtabliſhed, before thoſe alterations they propounded.

And ſo indeed I do, and ever ſhall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what hitherto have been chiefly uſed towards Me; Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learn that leſſon, nor I hope ever will you, That it is ſafe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws,

in

in which is wrapt up the publick Intereſt, and the good of the Communitie.

How God will deal with Me, as to the removall of theſe preſſures, and indignities, which his juſtice by the very unjuſt hands of ſome of My Subjects, hath been pleaſed to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much ſolicitous what wrong I ſuffer from men, while I retain in My ſoul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safetie, that in Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience I can; reſerving onely what I cannot conſent unto, without an irreparable injurie to My own Soul, the Church, and My People, and to You alſo, as the next and undoubted Heire of My Kingdoms.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are inſuperable, ſhall in his due time after My deceaſe bring You, as I hope he will, My counſell and charge to You, is, That You ſeriouſly conſider the former, reall, or objected miſcarriages, which might occaſion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repoſe ſo much upon any mans ſingle counſel, fidelitie, and diſcretion, in managing affairs of the firſt magnitude (that is, matters of Religion and Juſtice) as to create in Your ſelf, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgement, which is likely to be alwaies more conſtant and impartiall to the intereſts of your Crown and Kingdome, then any mans.

Next,

Next beware of exasperating any Factions by crossenesse and asperity of some mens passions, humours, or private opinions, imployed by you, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often disipates their strength, when rougher opposition fortifies, and puts the despised and oppressed Partie, into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided, the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwayes keep up solid piety, and those fundamentall Truths, (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour notall, or the best incouragements of learning, industry, and pietie; but with an equal eye and impartiall hand, distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their real goodnesse, both in abilities and fidelitie, worthy and capable of them.

This will be ſure to gain you the hearts of the beſt, and the moſt too; who, though they be not good themſelves, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer wayes of virtue at any time, ſweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, you ſee, conflicted with different and oppoſite Factions; (for ſo I muſt needs call and count all thoſe, that act not in any conformitie to the Laws eſtabliſhed in Church and State) no ſooner have they by force ſubdued what they counted their Common Enemie, (that is, all thoſe that adhered to the Laws, and to Me) and are ſecured from that fear, but they are divided to ſo high a rivaltie, as ſets them more at defiance againſt each other, then againſt their firſt Antagoniſts.

Time will diſsipate all Factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious deſignes, ſhall diſcover themſelves; which were at firſt wrapt up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretenſions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolf is not leſſe cruel, ſo he will be more juſtly hated, when he ſhall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheeps clothing.

But as for the ſeduced train of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplic y follow thoſe diſguiſes; my charge and counſel to you, is, That as you need no palliations for any deſignes (as other men) ſo that

that you ſtudy really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of goodnes, piety, and virtue towards the People) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion: ſo you ſhall neither fear any detection (as they do, who have but the face & mask of goodnes) nor ſhal you fruſtrate the juſt expectations of your people; who cannot in reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any ſubjects novelties, as from the virtuous conſtancy of their King.

When theſe mountains of congealed Factions, ſhall by the Sunſhine of Gods mercie, and the ſplendour of your virtues, be thawed and diſsipated, and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, that none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Conſciences, that thoſe men, that entitle themſelves, The Patrons and Vindicatours of them, onely to uſurp power over them: Let then no paſsion betray you to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe own ſinne and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, uſe all Princely arts, and clemencie to heal the wounds; that the ſmart of the cure may not equal the anguiſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnitie, and Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may include all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might ſerve

to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities.

I would have you alwayes propense to the same way, when ever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted; not onely as an act of State policy and necessity, but of Christian charitie and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive those, that have deprived Me of all; and I thank God, I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all my former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, then any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but misinformation, or misapprehension of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me, and You, then those Subjects, who sensible of their Errours, and our Injuries, will feel in their own souls most vehement motives to repentance, and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As Your qualitie sets you beyond any duel with any Subject, so the nobleness of Your mind must raise you above the meditating any revenge, or executing your anger upon the many.

The more conscious You shall be to your own merits upon your People, the more prone you

you will be to expect all love and loyaltie from them, and to inflict no puniſhment upon them for former miſcarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, then in puniſhing a thouſand.

This I write to you, not deſpairing of Gods mercy, and my Subjects affections towards You; both which I hope you will ſtudy to deſerve, yet we cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore Me, and You after Me, to thoſe enjoyments, which the Laws have aſsigned to Us, and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and ſinne can deveſt Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I ſhall be ſo happy to ſee You in peace, to let You more fully underſtand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your own Honour, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if You never ſee my face again, and God will have Me buried in ſuch a barbarous Impriſonment and obſcurity, (which the perfecting ſome mens deſignes require) wherein few hearts that love Me, are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I do require and intreat You as your Father and your KING, that You never ſuffer your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt, or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*

I tell you, I have tried it, and after much ſearch,

and many diſputes, have concluded it to be the beſt in the world; not onely in the Community, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpeciall notion, as reformed; keeping the middle way, between the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyranny, and the meanneſſe of fantaſtick Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good figures, may happily need ſome ſweetning, or poliſhing; which might here have eaſily been done by a ſafe and gentle hand, if ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude alterations, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beautie and proportions of the whole.

The ſcandal of the late Troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them, or your own thoughts in this, That ſcarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Proſecutour of this late Warre, againſt the Church, the Laws, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in *England*, which neither gives ſuch rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples.

Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſſe to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Factions

ons (but of worſe Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and diſorderly zeal abate your value and eſteem of true pietie, both of them are to be known by their fruits: the ſweetneſſe of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be deſpiſed, though the Brambles and Thorns ſhould pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments; which in their right conſtitution with Freedome and Honour, will never injure or diminiſh your greatneſſe, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyaltie, and confidence, between a Prince and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other then ſuch (however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of popular dictates and tumultuary impreſsions: The ſad effects of which will, no doubt, make all Parliaments after this, more cautious to preſerve that Freedome and Honour, which belongs to ſuch Aſſemblies, (when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) ſince the publick intereſt conſiſts in the mutuall and common good, both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, then in fair, grave, and Honourable wayes to contribute

their Counsels in Common, enacting all things by publick consent, without tyrannie or tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholsome food.

And if neither I, nor you, be ever restored to Our Rights, but God in his severest justice, will punish my Subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperitie of their wickedness; I hope God will give Me, and you that grace, which will teach and enable Us to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true principles of pietie, virtue, and honour, you shall never want a Kingdome.

A principall point of your honour will consist, in your conferring all respect, love, and protection to your Mother, my Wife; who hath many wayes deserved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to blesse Me with so many hopefull Children, all which with their Mother, I recommend to your love and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience, to suffer both for, and with Me, and you.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up

and

and fortified in my own Innocencie, and his Grace) that he would be pleaſed to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer by Your wiſdome, juſtice, pietie, and valour, of what the folly and wickedneſſe of ſome men have ſo farre ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobilitie, the Clergie, or the Commons, either as to Laws, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience, or Lives.

When they have deſtroyed Me, (for I know not how farre God may permit the malice and cruelltie of my Enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but my bloud will crie aloud for vengeance to heaven; ſo I beſeech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generalitie of the People, who have either deſerted Me, or engaged againſt Me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders, whoſe inward horrour will be their firſt Tormenter, nor will they eſcape exemplarie judgements.

For thoſe that loved Me, I pray God they may have no miſſe of Me, when I am gone; ſo much I wiſh and hope, that all good Subjects may be ſatisfied with the bleſsings of Your preſence and virtues.

For thoſe that repent of any defects in their dutie toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word

word of a Christian KING, so I believe You will find them truly zealous, to repay with interest that loyaltie and love to You, which was due to Me.

In summe, what good I intended, do You perform, when God shall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the vizards will fall off apace: This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion, (for so it now plainly appears, since my Restraint and cruel usage, that they fought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happie times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, that Religion to their God, and Loyaltie to their King, cannot be parted without both their sinne and their infelicitie.

I pray God blesse You, and establish Your Kingdoms in righteousnesse, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your honour in the love of God and your People.

And if God will have disloyaltie perfected by my destruction, let my memorie ever with my name live in you, as of your Father, that loves you, and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Sceptre and Government of them,

them, but alſo with the ſuffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I ſtudied to preſerve the Rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honour of my Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of my People, and my own Conſcience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Me then a thouſand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will reſtore Me to my Rights. I cannot deſpair either of his mercie, or of my Peoples love and pitie.

At worſt, I truſt, I ſhall but go before you to a better Kingdome, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe mercies I commend you, and all Mine.

Farewell, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and His Majesties *cloſer impriſonment in* Carisbrook-Caſtle.

AS I have leiſure enough, ſo I have cauſe more then enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for My Death: For I know, there are but few ſteps between the Priſons, and Graves of Princes.

It

It is Gods indulgence, which gives Me the ſpace; but Mans crueltie, that gives Me the ſad occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burden of mortalitie which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavie load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealouſies, and cruel paſsions, whoſe envie or enmitie againſt Me, makes their own lives ſeem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, My proſperitie made Me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of Mortalitie:

Thoſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is alwayes uncertain: Death being an eclipſe, which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudie dayes.

But My now long and ſharp adverſitie, hath ſo reconciled in Me thoſe naturall Antipathies, between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrours of it are diſpelled; and the ſpeciall horrour of it, as to My particular, much allayed: for, although My death at preſent may juſtly be repreſented to Me with all thoſe terrible aggravations, which the policie of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it; (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſſe God, I can look upon all thoſe ſtings, as unpoyſonous, though ſharp; ſince My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the antidote of his Death againſt them;

which

which as to the immaturitie, unjuſtice, ſhame, ſcorn, and crueltie of it, exceeded what ever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find ſo much the life of Religion, the feaſt of a good Conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integritie and conſtancie, as ſince I came to theſe cloſer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not ſo old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) ſo bad, as to be either afraid to die, or aſhamed to live: true, I am ſo afflicted, as might make Me ſometime even deſire to die, if I did not conſider, that it is the greateſt glory of a Chriſtians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, thoſe partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us to overlive our own fates, while We are deprived of health, honour, libertie, power, credit, ſafetie, or eſtate, and thoſe other comforts of deareſt relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My ſelf to live in nothing temporall ſo much, as in the love and good will of My people; for which, as I have ſuffered many deaths, ſo I hope, I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithſtanding, My Enemies have uſed all the poyſon of falſitie, and violence of hoſtilitie, to deſtroy, firſt the love and Loyaltie, which is in My Subjects,

and

and then all that content of life in Me, which from theſe I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and onely the husk and ſhell (as it were) which their further malice and crueltie can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all thoſe worldly comforts, for which life it ſelf ſeems deſireable to men.

But, O my Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to ſuffer with ſuch Chriſtian patience, and magnanimity in a good Cauſe, as are the greateſt honour of our lives, and the beſt improvement of our deaths.

I know, that in point of true Chriſtian valour, it argues puſillanimitie to deſire to die out of wearineſſe of life; and a want of that heroick greatneſſe of ſpirit, which becomes a Chriſtian in the patient and generous ſuſtaining thoſe afflictions, which as ſhadows neceſſarily attend us, while we are in this bodie; and which are leſſened or enlarged, as the Sun of our proſperity moves higher, or lower: whoſe totall abſence is beſt recompenſed with the Dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Samſons* Lion; but they yield much ſweetneſſe to thoſe, that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without diſcontent or peeviſhneſſe,

viſhneſſe, while they may yet converſe with God.

That I muſt die as a man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, ſudden, and barbarous death, in the ſtrength of My years, in the midſt of My Kingdoms, My Friends and loving Subjects being helpleſſe Spectatours, My Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me; living, dying, and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon, that God hath taught Me not to hope otherwiſe, as to mans crueltie; however, I deſpair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My life is the object of the Devils and wicked mens malice, but yet under Gods ſole cuſtodie and diſpoſall: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life, by ſeeming prepared to die; but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will both in life and death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to Me. I confeſſe it is not eaſie for Me to contend with thoſe many horrours of death, wherewith God ſuffers Me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddenneſſe of a barbarous Aſſaſination, or in thoſe greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more ſolemnly cruel) will, it may be ſeek to adde (as thoſe did, who Crucified Chriſt) the mockery of Juſtice, to the crueltie of Malice: That I may be deſtroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, ſo

with

with leſſe pitie, it will be but a neceſſary policie to make My death appear as an act of Juſtice, done by Subjects upon their Sovereigne; who know that no Law of God or Man, inveſts them with any power of Judicature without Me, much leſſe againſt Me: and who, being ſworn, and bound by all that is ſacred before God and man, to endeavour My preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their Perjurie.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accuſers, Parties, and Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Sovereigne; wherein thoſe, who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, muſt by ſhedding My bloud, ſeem to waſh their own hands of that innocent bloud, whereof they are now moſt evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their own conſciences too, while they carried on unreaſonable demands, firſt by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean ſpirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawfull Superiours, then this, the *Guilt of their unjuſt Uſurpation*; notwithſtanding, thoſe ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents, applied onely to diſguiſe at firſt the monſtrouſneſſe of their deſigne, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and profits

profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whose right it is, be cast out and slain.

With them, my greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy my Self with the Church and State by my Word, or not suffer them to do it unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of mine could ever yet either satisfie or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdome of Brambles, which some men seek to erect (at once weak, sharp, and fruitlesse, either to God or man) is like to thrive, till watered with the Royall bloud of those, whose right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done: I doubt not but my Innocencie will find him both my Protectour, and my Advocate, who is my onely Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and majestie above them, but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over them; who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of my

death among themſelves: the injuries I have ſuſtained from them, ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much, as in oppoſing Me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of my bloud, ſhall make them think no way better to expiate it, then by ſhedding theirs, who with them moſt thirſted after mine.

The ſad confuſions following my deſtruction, are already preſaged and confirmed to Me, by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince my troubles; in which God alone (who onely could) hath many wayes pleaded my cauſe; not ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed, whoſe confederacy in ſin was their onely ſecurity; who have cauſe to fear, that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance, afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of death, is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallowed up death in the victory of his Reſurrection, and the glory of his Aſcenſion.

My next comfort is, that he gives Me not onely the honour to imitate his example in ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake, (though obſcured by the fouleſt charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice) but alſo that charity, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victory over my Destroyers: By which I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute my bloud to them

them further, then to convince them what need they have of Christs bloud to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding mine.

At present, the will of my Enemies seems to be their onely rule, their power the measure, and their successe the Exactour, of what they please to call Justice, while they flatter themselves with the fancie of their own safety by my danger, and the securitie of their lives and designes by my Death: forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeances of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to complete their wicked purposes.

I blesse God, I pray not so much that this bitter cup of a violent death may passe from Me, as that of his wrath may passe frō all those, whose hands by deserting Me, are sprinkled, or by acting & consenting to my death, are embrued with my bloud.

The will of God hath confined and concluded mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more then I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from Me; whose mercy I believe, will more then infinitely recompence, what ever by mans injustice he is pleased to deprive Me of.

The glory attending my death will far ſurpaſſe all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavie and envied Crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the ſhadows of my earthly Kingdoms among men, for the ſubſtance of that heavenly Kingdome with himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world, I know the ſharp and neceſſary Tyrannie of my Deſtroyers, will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyranny againſt Me. I am perſwaded, I am happie in the judicious love of the ableſt & beſt of my Subjects, who do not onely pity and pray for Me, but would be content even to die with Me, or for Me.

Theſe know, how to excuſe my failings as a Man, and yet to retain, and pay their duty to Me as their King; there being no religious neceſsitie binding any Subjects by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed the faults and errours of their Princes; eſpecially there where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I believe, of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantaged by my ruine, do already feel ſharp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evil dealings againſt Me in the meaſure of Gods

Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails, been ſo cruell as to cut off their chiefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſtinate, may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince and Prieſt) in ſuch a method of Divine Juſtice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people opening upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdain of their ill-gotten and worſe-uſed Authority: upon whoſe ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building, and eſtabliſhing their deſignes againſt Me, the Church, and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in my peace, which I truſt, is made with God; before whoſe exact Tribunall I ſhall not fear to appear, as to the Cauſe ſo long diſputed by the Sword, between Me and my cauſeleſſe Enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgement will confute their fallacy, who from worldly ſucceſſe (rather like Sophiſters, then ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely clear, ſafe, and fixed rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approves.

I am confident, the Juſtice of my Cauſe, and clearneſſe of my Conſcience before God, and toward my People, will carrie Me as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above Me in the vulgar opinion: who conſider not, that many times thoſe undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the proſperitie and applauſe of the world, whoſe riſe is from Hell, as to the injuriouſneſſe and oppreſsion of the deſigne. The proſperous winds which oft fill the ſails of Pirats, do not juſtifie their piracie and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worſted in my enforced conteſtation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the freedome and honour of Parliaments, the rights of my Crown, the juſt libertie of my Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government, and due encouragements, then if I had with the greateſt advantages of Succeſſe, over-born them all, as ſome men have now evidently done, whatever deſigns they at firſt pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the ſweetening of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I ſhall more cheerfully take, and drink as from Gods hand (if it muſt be ſo) then they can give it to Me, whoſe hands are unjuſtly and barbarouſly lifted up againſt Me. And

And, as to the laſt event, I may ſeem to ow more to my Enemies, then my Friends: while thoſe will put a period to the ſinnes and ſorrows attending this miſerable life; wherewith theſe deſire I might ſtill contend.

I ſhall be more then Conquerour through Chriſt enabling Me, for whom I have hitherto ſuffered: As he is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace, for all which I have been forced to contend againſt errour, faction, and confuſion.

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortalitie crowned with Martyrdome: where the debt of death, which I ow for ſinne to nature, ſhall be raiſed, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept: and although death be the wages of my own ſin, as from God, and the effect of other ſinnes, as men, both againſt God and Me; yet as I hope my own ſinnes are ſo remitted, that they ſhall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death; ſo I deſire God to pardon their ſinnes, who are moſt guilty of my deſtruction.

The Trophies of my charitie will be more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-managed victories over Me.

Though their ſinne be proſperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: both which I pray God they may obtain, that my

temporall death unjuſtly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods juſt inflicting eternall death upon them: for I look upon the temporall deſtruction of the greateſt King, as far leſſe deprecable, then the eternall damnation of the meaneſt Subject.

Nor do I wiſh other, then the ſafe bringing of the ſhip to ſhore, when they have caſt me overbord; though it be very ſtrange, that Mariners can find no other means to appeaſe the ſtorm themſelves have raiſed, but by drownig their Pilot.

I thank God, my enemies crueltie cannot prevent my preparation; whoſe malice in this I ſhall defeat, that they ſhall not have the ſatisfaction to have deſtroyed my Soul with my body: of whoſe ſalvation, while ſome of them have themſelves ſeemed, and taught others to deſpair, they have onely diſcovered this, that they do not much deſire it.

Whoſe uncharitable and cruel Reſtraints, denying Me even the aſsiſtance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then any way obſtructed my acceſſe to the Throne of Heaven.

Where Thou dwelleſt, O King of Kings; who filleſt Heaven and Earth, who art the Fountain of Eternal life, in whom is no ſhadow of death.

Thou, O God, art both the juſt inflicter of death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea,

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our ſelves, and live in thee, then by living in our ſelves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my Death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy ſpeciall graces and comforts in my Soul, as a Chriſtian.

If thou, Lord, wilt be with Me, I ſhall neither fear, nor feel any evil, though I walk through the valley of the ſhadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortall man: to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God.

O my Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to die with Me, as a Man, make Me to know what it is to paſſe through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know, that thou My Redeemer liveſt for ever: though thou ſlayeſt me, yet thou haſt incouraged me to truſt in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better then life.

O be not farre from me, for I know not how near a violent and cruel death is to me.

As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcovers, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſignes of thoſe, who have, or ſhall conſpire my deſtruction.

O ſhew me the goodneſſe of thy will, through the wickedneſſe of theirs.

Thou giveſt me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may paſſe from me; but thou haſt taught Me as a Chriſtian by the the example of Chriſt, to adde, not My will, but Thine be done.

Yea

Yea, Lord, let our Wills be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in Me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy Will in either life or death.

As I believe, thou hast forgiven all the errours of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the errours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto me in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though my Destroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they lose their own Souls?

Such as have not onely resisted my just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against my Self; though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thou madest thy Sonne a Saviour to many that crucified him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for my Murderers, louder then the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their sin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls, by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying me, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest, I have found their mercies to

me

me as very falſe, ſo very cruel; who pretending to preſerve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deal not with them as bloud-thirſty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compaſsion and my charity.

And when thou makeſt inquiſition for My bloud, O ſprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Souls, with the bloud of thy Son, that thy deſtroying Angel may paſſe over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdome of thine infinite mercy at laſt receive both me and my enemies:

Where being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the ſame Redeemer, we ſhall live farre above theſe ambitious deſires, which beget ſuch mortall enmities.

When their hands ſhall be heavieſt, and crueleſt upon upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternall mercies:

That what is cut off of my life in this miſerable moment, may be repaied in thy ever bleſſed eternity.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

What Warrs deny us, Prayers shall give
It's not by Strength but prayers we live.

FINIS.



A perfect Copie of private Prayers used by His MAJESTIE, *in the time of* His Sufferings.

A Prayer in time of Captivity.



Powerfull and Eternall God! to whom nothing is so great, that it may resist; or so small, that it is contemned; look upon My Miserie with thine eye of Mercy, and let Thine infinite power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of deliverance unto Me, as to Thee shall seem most convenient; let not Injurie, O Lord, triumph over Me; and let My faults by Thy hand be corrected; and make not My unjust enemies the ministers of thy Justice: But yet My God; if in Thy wisdome this be the aptest chastisement for My unexcusable transgressions; if this ungrateфull bondage be fittest for My over-high desires; if the pride of my (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto Thy will, and cheerfully embrace what sorrow Thou wilt have Me suffer: Onely thus much let Me crave of Thee, (Let my craving O Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from Thee) that by Thy goodnesse, which is Thy self, Thou wilt suffer some beam of thy Majestie so to shine in My mind, that I, who in My greatest Afflictions acknowledge it My noblest Title to be Thy Creature, may

may ſtill depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamitie be the exerciſe, but not the overthrow of My virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to My deſtruction. And if it be Thy will that they more and more vex Me with puniſhment, yet, O Lord, never let their wickedneſſe have ſuch a hand, but that I may ſtill carry a pure mind, and ſtedfaſt reſolution ever to ſerve Thee, without fear or preſumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may beſt pleaſe Thee; ſo that at the laſt I may come to thy eternall Kingdome, through the Merits of thy Son, our alone Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

Another Prayer.

ALmightie and moſt mercifull Father, look downe upon Me thy unworthy ſervant, who here proſtrate My ſelf at the Foot-ſtool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon Me, O Father, through the Mediation, and in the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, in whom Thou art onely well pleaſed: for, of My ſelf I am not worthy to ſtand before Thee, or to ſpeak with My unclean lips to Thee, moſt holy and eternall God; for as in ſinne I was conceived and born, ſo likewiſe I have broken all Thy Commandments by My ſinfull motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works, omitting many duties I ought to do, and committing

committing many vices which thou haſt forbidden under pain of thy heavie diſpleaſure: as for my ſins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I ſtand here liable to all the miſeries in this life, and everlaſting Torments in that to come; if Thou ſhouldſt deal with Me according to My deſerts. I confeſſe, O Lord, that it is Thy Mercie, (which endureth for ever,) and Thy compaſsion (which never fails,) which is the cauſe that I have not been long ago conſumed: but with Thee there is mercie and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, I intreat Thy Divine Majeſtie, that Thou wouldſt not enter into judgement with thy ſervant, nor be extréme to mark what is done amiſſe, but be Thou mercifull unto Me, and waſh away all My ſins with that precious bloud that My Saviour ſhed for Me. And I beſeech thee, O Lord, not onely to waſh away all My ſins, but alſo to purge My heart by thy holy Spirit, from the droſſe of my natural corruption; and as thou doeſt adde daies to My life, ſo good Lord, I beſeech Thee, to adde repentance to My daies, that when I have paſt this mortal life, I may be partaker of Thy everlaſting Kingdome, through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer and Confeſsion, made in and for the times of Affliction.

ALmightie and moſt mercifull Father, as it is onely Thy goodneſſe that admits of Our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give Us any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; ſo it is our bounden and neceſſary dutie to confeſſe our ſins freely unto Thee; and of all men living, I have moſt need, moſt reaſon ſo to do; no man having been ſo much obliged by Thee, no man more grievouſly offending Thee: that degree of knowledge which Thou haſt given Me, adding likewiſe to the guilt of My tranſgreſsions. For was it through ignorance, that I ſuffered innocent bloud to be ſhed by a falſe pretended way of Juſtice? or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worſhip, to be ſet up in *Scotland*? and injured the Biſhops in *England*? O no; but with ſhame and grief I confeſſe, that I therein followed the perſwaſions of worldly wiſdome, forſaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conſcience; Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuſe to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy mercies; for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faultie: Grant therefore mercifull Father, ſo to ſtrengthen My repentance, and amend my prayers, that thou mayeſt clear the way for Thine own

own mercies, to which O let Thy Juſtice at laſt give place, putting a ſpeedie end to My deſerved afflictions. In the mean time give Me Patience to endure, Conſtancie againſt Temptations, and a diſcerning ſpirit, to chooſe what is beſt for Thy Church, and People, which thou haſt committed to My Charge. Grant this, O moſt mercifull Father for thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſts ſake, our onely Saviour. *Amen.*

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Moſt mercifull Father, though My ſins are ſo many and grievous, that I may rather exſpect the effects of Thy anger, then ſo great a deliverance, as to free Me from My preſent great danger; yet, O Lord, ſince Thy mercies are over all thy works, and Thou never faileſt to relieve all thoſe who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to Thee for ſuccour, it were to multiplie, not diminiſh My tranſgreſsions to deſpair of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly deſire thy Divine Majeſtie, that Thou wilt not onely pardon all My ſins, but alſo free Me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruel Enemies. But if Thy wrath againſt My hainous offences will not otherwayes be ſatisfied, then by ſuffering Me to fall under My preſent afflictions, Thy will be done; yet with humble

Importunitie, I do, and ſhall never leave to implore the aſsiſtance of Thy heavenly Spirit, that My cauſe, as I am thy Vicegerent may not ſuffer through My weakneſſe, or want of courage. O Lord, ſo ſtrengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My mind, that with clearneſſe I may ſhew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloudie Triall, that ſo My ſufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewiſe be a furtherance to My Salvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his ſake who ſuffered for Me, even Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous. *Amen.*

FINIS.



A Copie of a Letter which was ſent from the *Prince* to the KING, Dated from the *Hague*, Jan. 23. 1648.

SIR,

HAving no means to come to the knowledge of your Majeſties preſent condition, but ſuch as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report; I have ſent this Bearer Seamour *to wait upon your Majeſtie, and to bring me an account of it: that I may withall aſſure your Majeſtie, I do not onely pray for your Majeſtie according to my Dutie, but ſhall alwayes be ready to do all which ſhall be in my power, to deſerve that bleſsing which I now humbly beg of your Majeſtie upon*

SIR,

Your Majeſties

Hague, *Jan.* 23. 1648.

moſt humble and moſt obedient ſon and ſervant,

CHARLES.

The Superſcription was thus,

For the King.

A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the Lady Eliſabeth, *and the Duke of* Gloceſter, *the day before His Death.*

HIs Children being come to meet Him, He firſt gave his bleſsing to the Lady *Eliſabeth*; and bade her remember to tell her Brother *Fames*, when ever ſhe ſhould ſee him, That it was his Fathers laſt deſire, that he ſhould no more look upon *Charles* as his eldeſt Brother onely, but be obedient unto him, as his Sovereigne; and that they ſhould love one another, & forgive their Fathers enemies. Then ſaid the *King* to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No (ſaid ſhe) I ſhall not forget it while I live: And pouring forth abundance of Tears, promiſed Him to write down the Particulars.

Then the *King* taking the Duke of *Gloceſter* upon his Knee, ſaid, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head; (Upon which words the Child looked very ſtedfaſtly on him.) Mark Child what I ſay, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I ſay, You muſt not be a King, ſo long as your Brothers, *Charles* & *Fames* do live: For they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them,) and cut off thy head too at the laſt: and therefore I charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the Child ſighing, ſaid, I will be torn in pieces firſt. Which falling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young, it made the *King* rejoyce exceedingly. *Ano-*

Another Relation from the Lady Eliſabeths *own Hand.*

WHat the King ſaid to me the 29th of *January* 1648. being the laſt time I had the happineſſe to ſee Him. He told me, He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to ſay much, yet ſomewhat He had to ſay to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing, becauſe He feared their Crueltie was ſuch, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wiſhed me not to grieve and torment my ſelf for Him; for that would be a glorious death that He ſhould die; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. He bid me read Biſhop *Andrews* Sermons, *Hookers Eccleſiaſticall Politie*, and Biſhop *Lauds* Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground me againſt Poperie. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded Us, and all the reſt of my Brothers & Siſters to forgive them: He bid me tell my Mother, That his thoughts had never ſtrayed from Her, and that His Love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. Withall He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her. And bid me ſend his Bleſsing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with Commendation to all His Friends: So after He had given me His Bleſsing, I took my leave.

Further, He commanded Us all to forgive thoſe people, but never to trust them; for they had been most falſe to Him, and to thoſe that gave them power, and He feared alſo to their own ſouls; And deſired me not to grieve for Him, for He ſhould die a Martyr; And that He doubted not but the Lord would ſettle His Throne upon his Son, and that We ſhould be all happier, then We could have expected to have been, if He had lived: With many other things, which at preſent I cannot remember.

Elizabeth.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth.

THe KING ſaid to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, that He would ſay nothing to him but what was for the good of his ſoul: He told Him, that He heard that the Armie intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul; for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His bleſsing, never to accept of it, unleſſe it redounded lawfully upon him: and commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

Copia vera.

An

An Epitaph upon King CHARLES.

SO falls that ſtately Cedar, while it ſtood
That was the onely glory of the Wood;
Great CHARLES, thou earthly God, celeſtial Man,
Whoſe life, like others, though it were a ſpan;
Yet in that ſpan was comprehended more
Then Earth hath waters, or the Ocean ſhore:
Thy heavenly virtues Angels ſhould rehearſe,
It is a theam too high for humane Verſe:
He that would know thee right, then let him look
Upon thy rare incomparable Book,
And read it o're and o're: which if he do,
Hee'l find thee King, *and* Prieſt, *and* Prophet *too;*
And ſadly ſee our loſſe, and though in vain,
With fruitleſſe wiſhes call thee back again:
Nor ſhall oblivion ſit upon thy Herſe,
Though there were neither Monument, nor Verſe.
Thy Suffrings and thy Death let no man name,
It was thy Glory, but the Kingdomes Shame.

J. H.

FINIS.